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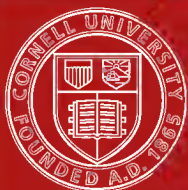
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# OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS

EDITED BY

L. MORSBACH AND F. HOLTHAUSEN

PROFESSOR AT GÖTTINGEN UNIVERSITY

PROFESSOR AT KIEL UNIVERSITY

~~~~~ vol. I ~~~~~

# H A V E L O K

EDITED

BY

F. HOLTHAUSEN



LONDON

SAMPSON LOW MARSTON & CO

NEW YORK

G. E. STECHERT

1901

HEIDELBERG

C. WINTER

# OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS

edited by

L. Morsbach

and

F. Holthausen

Professor at Göttingen University

Professor at Kiel University.

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The principal aim of this collection of Old and Middle English texts is the publication of trustworthy and critical editions, answering to modern scientific demands. The original dialect will be preserved wherever possible, although differences of transmission, and the special problems arising therefrom, render it impossible to adhere to any absolute rules. The critical apparatus is confined within the narrowest possible limits. It includes all significant variants, while scribal contractions and alterations in orthography and dialect will be indicated in the text by *italics*, and will also be tabulated for the sake of clearness in a special list. The introduction will contain a summary account of the transmission of the text, the plan of the edition, the dialect, sources, time and place of origin of the work, the existing editions, if any, as well as the bibliography of the subject. The notes will deal with textual questions only, and will elucidate the most difficult passages in regard both to form and matter. The glossary will explain the rarer words, especially such as are unnoticed by Stratmann and Bradley. Each volume will conclude with a complete index of names. The editions are intended primarily for use at the universities, and for private study. Accordingly the com-

Continuation page 3 of the cover.

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TO MY FRIEND

LORENZ MÖRSBACH.



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## P r e f a c e.

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§ 1. *Manuscript.* The Lay of *Havelok* is preserved in the MS. Laud 108 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The poem begins on fol. 204, and is written in double columns, each containing 45 lines; it terminates on fol. 219 v. and is immediately followed by the lay of *King Horn* in the same hand. The rest of the MS. is taken up with a great number of Lives of Saints and other religious poems, written by different scribes — cp. HORSTMANN in Herrig's Archiv vol. 49, p. 395 sqq. — of a later date. A leaf has been cut out between fol. 211 and fol. 212, so that after v. 1444 no less than 180 lines are lost. The initial letter of every line is put a little way apart from the rest, and the poem is marked out into paragraphs by the use of large coloured letters, but without spaces between the lines. All this may be well seen on the photograph no. VII of leaf 207, back (lines 632—721) in SKEAT'S *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts*, Oxford 1892, p. 26 seq. Both the long and the short *s* are used, the three letters *þ*, *y* and *p* (= *w*) are all made very nearly alike, except that *y* is generally dotted. The Saxon letter *p* occurs however rather rarely, scarcely more than half a dozen times. The letters *c* and *t* as well as *n* and *u* are commonly well distinguished; *i* is often marked with a little stroke over it. The contractions are the usual ones. According to Skeat the MS. belongs to the end of the 13th century, but Hupe (*Anglia* XIII. 192) thinks that it was written a generation later, viz. about 1330—1350, which is more probable.

§ 2. *Editions.* The Lay of *Havelok* was first edited by SIR FRED. MADDEN for the Roxburgh Club in 1828, then again by the Rev. W. SKEAT for the Early Engl. Text Soc., Extra Ser. IV, in 1868. Fragments of the poem are found in ZUPITZA'S *Alt- und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*, 5. Aufl., Wien und Leipzig 1897, p. 120 seq. (v. 1—163), in R. MORRIS' *Specimens of Early English*, Part I, 2nd Edition, Oxford 1887, p. 222 seq. (v. 339—748), and in R. WÜLKEA'S *Altenglisches Lesebuch*, 1. Teil, Halle 1874, p. 81 seq. (v. 2052—2265).

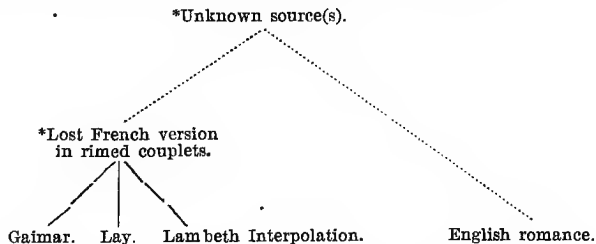
§ 3. *Literature.* Contributions to the textual criticism, metre, style, language and history of the poem as well as the saga are given in the following essays and dissertations, by

- a) A. J. ELLIS, in his book *On Early English Pronunciation*, Part II, London 1869, p. 470 seq.;  
 J. ZUPITZA, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. XIX. 124 seq.; again in the *Anglia*; vol. I. p. 468 seq. and VII. 145 seq.  
 FR. STRATMANN, in the *Englische Studien*, vol. I. p. 423 seq. and V. 377 seq.  
 G. STORM, *ib.* III. 533 seq.  
 J. W. HALES, in *The Athenæum*, 1889, I. p. 244 seq. (Cp. F. LIEBERMANN, in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, IV, 2. 154 seq.).  
 H. HUPE, in the *Anglia*, vol. XIII. 186 seq.  
 F. HOLTHAUSEN, in the *Anglia*, vol. XV. 499 seq., and XVII. 441 seq.; then in *An English Miscellany*, Oxford 1900, p. 176 seq.  
 E. KÖLBING, in the *Engl. Stud.*, vol. XVI. 301 seq., XVII. 297 seq. and XIX. 146 seq.  
 W. HEUSER, *ib.* XXVII. p. 391 seqq.  
 b) F. LUDORFF, *Über die Sprache des altengl. Lay Havelok þe Dane*, Münster 1873 (Dissert. of Gießen).  
 L. HOHMANN, *Über Sprache und Stil des altenglischen Lai Havelok þe Dane*, Dissert., Marburg 1886 (cp. Hupe l. c.).  
 P. WOHLFEIL, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, Dissert., Leipzig 1890 (cp. Kölbing in the *Engl. Stud.* XVI. 299 note).  
 G. WITTENBRINCK, *Zur Kritik und Rhythmik des altengl. Lais von Havelok dem Dänen*. Wissenschaftl. Beigabe zum Osterprogramm 1891 des Gymnasium Arnoldinum zu Burgsteinfurt (cp. Mitteilungen, Beiblatt zur *Anglia*, II. 244, and Kölbing in the *Engl. Stud.* XVI. 299 seq.).  
 FRIEDR. SCHMIDT, *Zur Heimatbestimmung des Havelok*, Dissert., Göttingen 1900 [not yet printed].

The Notes in Skeat's edition, p. 87 seq., in Morris' *Specimens* p. 356 seq. and in Wülker's *Lesebuch* p. 161 seq. may also be mentioned here. Various emendations are proposed in the Introduction and the Glossary of Skeat's edition.

From a literary point of view the lay is discussed in B. ten BRINK's *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, Bd. I, 2. Aufl., Straßburg 1899, p. 269 seq. (cp. the English translation in BOHN'S *Standard Library* by HORACE M. KENNEDY: *Early English Literature*, I, London 1883, p. 232 seq.) and in A. BRANDL'S *Mittelenglische Litteratur* in H. PAUL'S *Grundriß der german. Philologie*, Bd. II, 1. Abteilung, Straßburg 1893, p. 644 seq., § 52.

§ 4. *Source.* The English poem is probably a translation of a French one, which is however lost; the existing Old French *Lai d'Haveloc le Danois*<sup>1</sup> and the Haveloc-episode in GEFREI GAIMAR'S *Estorie des Engleis*<sup>2</sup> bear only a very remote resemblance to the English version, cp. the Preface in Skeat's edition and KUPFERSCHMIDT'S essay *Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhältnis zum Lai d'Havelok* in E. BÖHMER'S *Romanische Studien*, vol. IV, p. 411 sqq., Bonn 1880. — The French lai has been discussed by A. AHLSTRÖM: *Studier i den fornfranska lais-litteraturen*, dissert. of Upsala, 1892, espec. p. 32 and 119 sqq. (cp. FREYMOND in VOLLMÖLLER'S *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der roman. Phil.* III, 2, p. 163 f.). Several other mentions of, and allusions to, the Havelok-saga in French and English chronicles are collected in the Preface of Skeat's edition, § 6 sqq. Only one of these, the interpolation in the Lambeth MS. of ROBERT MANNING of Brunne's translation of PETER DE LANGTOFT'S *Chronicle*<sup>3</sup> deserves special notice, and has recently been made the subject of an essay by E. K. PUTNAM: *The Lambeth Version of Havelok*, Baltimore 1900 [reprinted from the Publications of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, vol. XV, New Ser. vol. VIII. p. 1—16], who also reprints the short text at the end. According to him, the relation of the various versions to one another may be represented in this way (cp. p. 16):



<sup>1</sup> Edited by SIR FR. MADDEN in his edition of the English lay p. 105 sqq., again by FR. MICHEL, Paris 1833, then by TH. WRIGHT in his edition of *Gaimar*, London 1850, Appendix, p. 3 seqq., at last by SIR THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY and CHS. FR. MARTIN in *Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores* 91, vol. I. 290 sqq., London 1888.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in MADDEN'S edition of Haveloc p. 147 sqq., again by PETRIE in vol. I, p. 764 seqq. of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London 1848, and by TH. WRIGHT for the Caxton Soc., London 1850, at last in *Rer. Brit. med. ævi script.* 91, vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by SKEAT in his edition, p. XI sqq.

§ 5. *Date, author, and dialect.* The Havelok-poem was probably written at the beginning of the 14th century, by some unknown minstrel, in the dialect of Lincolnshire, where the saga seems to have been localized. As the only parliament at Lincoln (mentioned in l. 1006) was held A. D. 1301, and as several lines in ROB. MANNING'S *Handling Sinne*, translated in 1303, are clearly taken from the *Lay of Havelok*<sup>1</sup>, the date of the latter may be fixed about 1302.

§ 6. *Manner of editing.* The north-eastern Midland dialect of the original has passed through the hands of at least one northern and one southern scribe, who have mixed it up with their respective idioms, and it has been the editor's task, to eliminate these foreign elements as much as possible, and to restore the language of the poet. This attempt has been rendered difficult by the fact, that even he seems not to have used a uniform language, but to have inserted, especially in his rimes, the forms of neighbouring dialects, as is often the case in mediæval romance-poetry. Therefore the uniformity of the critical text has not been carried out too strictly. — After the example of H. SWEET (in his two *Middle English Primers*) the long vowels have been marked with an (ˉ), except in the case of lengthening before certain consonant-groups, where I have used the (˙). *Ou* or *ow*, if it signifies long *u*, has the stroke over the two letters (*ou* or *ow*). The type *g* with a ˘ over it denotes the sound of Mæd. E. *dg* in *bridge*.

In order to make the poem more readable, I have divided it into paragraphs and chapters, used modern English punctuation and put capitals likewise according to modern usage. Words and syllables which belong to one another, but are separated in the manuscript, are connected with hyphens. All the contractions of the scribe and every alteration of the MS. readings are printed in *italics*; letters added by me are inclosed in [ ], letters written above the line or on the margin are inclosed in ( ), letters to be omitted in reading are dotted, e. g. *ḣor* = *ōr*. The foot-notes indicate chiefly those emendations and alterations of the text, which seemed necessary on account of sense, rime, or metre, whereas general alterations of spelling and dialect forms are grouped together below. If the conjectures are not the present editor's own, the names of the respective authors are added, *E.* meaning *Ellis*, *G.* : *Garnett*, *Ho.* : *Hohmann*, *Hu.* : *Hupe*, *K.* :

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Specimens of Early English*, a new Edition, by MORRIS and SKEAT, Part II, Oxford 1884, p. 50 sqq. and p. 301 (notes to ll. 5811 sq. and 5923).



*Kölbing, M. : Morris, Mb. : Morsbach, Sk. : Skeat*<sup>1</sup>, *St. : Stratmann, W. : Wittenbrinck, Wü. : Wülker, Z. : Zupitza*. Rejected emendations are not mentioned, except some doubtful ones, which are to be found in the notes. Here too, only some difficult lines or passages are discussed or elucidated by short references and historical quotations, as it is not intended in this series of texts to collect parallels. — The glossary is confined to words not found<sup>2</sup> or insufficiently treated and illustrated in STRATMANN-BRADLEY's *Middle English Dictionary*.

It was by no means an easy task, to make a readable and fully intelligible text<sup>3</sup> of a manuscript spelt so badly and carelessly as that of *Haveloc*. This difficulty was augmented by the attempt to restore the original dialect and to indicate vowel-quantity — an experiment which craves the benevolent indulgence of my critics! For kind help I am heartily indebted to all those who have contributed by editions and discussions to correct and elucidate the text of the poem, and so have smoothed the way for the present editor. The well known name of the Rev. W. SKEAT may here be mentioned in the first place. My friend L. MORSBACH, with whom I orally and by letter discussed the whole plan of this edition, has not only given me much good advice in detail, but also had the great kindness, to read the proofs of all the sheets, and to communicate to me many valuable corrections and emendations of the text. To Professor NAPIER in Oxford I am indebted for information on several points, and to our Lector Dr. A. GOUGH for kind help in revising my notes and introduction.

Kiel, 7 august 1900.

F. Holthausen.

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<sup>1</sup> As SIR FR. MADDEN's edition was not accessible to me, I was not able to distinguish his emendations from those of SKEAT.

<sup>2</sup> Such are marked with an \*.

<sup>3</sup> Some new emendations are proposed at the end of the book, to which I wish to direct the readers' attention.

# List of General Alterations of the MS. Spelling.

## I. Vowels.

1. *a* instead of: a) *e* in *arn* 572. *barn* 571. *kaste* 2449, 2611. *pat* 330. — b) *o* in *bafe* 2936. *cam* sgl. prt. 777, 1309, 2283. *shal* 1782.
2. *e* instead of: a) *a* in *denshe* 2689. *-end(e)* 2283, 2355, 2360, 2371. — b) *i* in *-end(e)* 508, 865, 946, 1390, 2282, 2681. *here* 393. — c) *o* in *hend* 1961, 2446. *neyfer* 2697. *she* (always). — d) *u* in *berwe* 2870.
3. *i* instead of: a) *e* in *bi-* 13. *filede* 67. *give*, *yiue* (always in rimes). *yift* 2336. *pridde* 2633. — b) *o* in *wile* 494, 1150. — c) *u* in *dinten* 2448. *kine* 2804.
4. *o* instead of: a) *a* in *Afelwold* 1077. *blowe* 587. *bofe* 1336, 2543. *c* see *k*. *go* 314. *gonge* 796, 1057, 2587. *groten* 241, 329. *holde* 1382, 2308, 2472, 2806. *hor* see *or*. *howe* see *owe*. *hwore* 1881. *kom* 2891. *knowe* 2207, 2785. *loten* 240, 328. *loth* 76. *lowe* 2767. *mor* 1971. *ore* 27. *owe* 1188, 1292. *rofe(e)* 75, 1335, 2542. *shol* 1783. *showe* 2206, 2784. *sore* 401. *sowe* 473, 1187, 1962, 2143, 2255, 2416, 2430, 2944. *stro* 315, 466. *wo* 465. *wowe* 474, 2470. *wore* 400, 1925, 2255. *fore* 2254, 2486. — b) *e* in *bore* 974. *bofe* 694, 1680. *holde* see *old*. *kome* 1208. *most(e)* 233, 945, 962, 983. *nome* 1207. *old(e)* 546, 2472. *or* 15, 229, 541, 684, 1261, 2680. *rofe* 361, 693, 1681. *showe* 1698, 1853. *wore* 414, 973.
5. *ou* instead of: a) *i* in *mouhte* 196. — b) *ei* in *fou[h]* (always).
6. *u* always instead of *v* without marking it.

## II. Consonants.

1. *c* instead of *t* in *fouchte* 1073.
2. *d* instead of: a) *f* in *ded* 116, 354. — b) *t* in *and* 36, 557. *-ed* 1266, 1923, 2615. — c) *th* in *beddeth* 1128. *weddeth* 1127.
3. *h* instead of *f* in *here* 1350. — *ht* instead of *th* (always).
4. *k* instead of: a) *c* in *kinn* 2318. *kitte* 942. — b) *ch* in *rike* 133.
5. *f* instead of: a) *d* in *rofe* (MS. *rede*) 361, 693, 1681. — b) *h* in *pefi* instead of *he* (always). — c) *s* in the 3. pers. sgl. ind. pres. and 2. pers. pl. imper. (always).

## Incipit vita Hauelok, quondam rex Anglie et Denemarchie.

- Herknet[h] tō mē, gōde-men, [fol. 204, col. 1]  
Wiues, maydnes, and alle men,  
Of a tāle þat ich yōū wilē telle[n],  
[H]wō sō it wilē hēre, and þēr-tō duelle[n]!  
5 Þe tāle is of Hauelok i-māked:  
[H]wīl hē was lītēl, hē yēde ful nāked.  
Hauelok was a ful gōd gome,  
Hē was ful gōd in euēri[lk] trome,  
Hē was þe wic[h]testē man at nēde,  
10 Þat þurte rīden on anī stēde.  
Þat yē mōwen nōū y-hēre[n],  
And þe tāle yē mōwen y-lēre[n].  
At the biginni[n]g of ūre tāle  
Fīl mē a cuppe of ful gōd āle,  
15 And wile drīnken, hōr y spelle,  
Þat Crīst us shīlde alle frō helle!  
Krīst late us heuere sō for tō dō,  
Þat wē mōten comen him tō;  
And wit[h] þat it mōte bēn sō,  
20 Benēdicāmus dominō!  
Hēre y schal biginnen a rym, —  
Krīst us yīue wel gōd fȳn!  
The rym is māked of Hauelok,  
A stalworþī man in a flok;  
25 Hē was þe stalworþestē man at nēde,  
Þat may rīden on anī stēde.

## [I.]

- It was a king bi ðre-dawes,  
 That in his tīme gōde lawes  
 Dēde mākēn, an[d] ful wēl hóldeŋ;  
 30 Hym louedē yung, him louedē hólde,  
 Ērl and barūn, dréng and þayn,  
 Knic[h]t, bōndeman, and swain,  
 Wýues, maydnes, prēstes and clerkes,  
 And al for hise gōde werkes.  
 35 Hē louedē God with al his micht,  
 And hōli kirke, and sōth, and richt;  
 Richt-wīse men hē louedē alle,  
 And ōueral mādē hem fortō calle;  
 Wreierēs and robberēs mādē hē falle,  
 40 And hāted hem sō man dōth galle;  
 Ūtlawes and thēues mādē hē býnde[n],  
 Alle that hē michte fýnde[n],  
 And heye hengen on galwe-trē;  
 For hem ne yēde góld ne fē.  
 45 In that tīme a man þat bōre  
 . . . . .  
 Of rēd góld up-on hijs bac, [204, 2]  
 In a māle [h]wīth or blac,  
 Ne fúndē hē nōn that him misseyde,  
 50 N[e] hōnd on [him] with iuele leyde.  
 Þanne michte chapmen fāre  
 Þurūth Eng[e]lónð wit[h] here wāre,  
 And baldelike býē and sellen,  
 Ōueral þēr þe[i] wilēn dwellen:  
 55 In gōde burwes, and þēr-fram  
 Ne fúndēn þe[i] nōn þat dēdē hem shām,  
 Þat hē ne wēre sōne tō sorwe brouht,  
 An[d] pōuere mākēd, and brow[h]t tō nouht.  
 Þanne was Engélónð at hayse;

28 gode *St.*] were gode. 29 Dede *St.*] He dede. 31 þayn *Z.*  
 kayn. 33 wyues *Z.*] wydues. 37 Richt *Sk.*] Rirth. 39 wrobberes.  
 50 Ne *Sk.* || with iuele on hond *ms.* 53 beye. 57 weren.

- 60 Michel was sui[l]ch a king tō preyse,  
 Pat hēld sō Eng[e]lōnd in grith:  
 Krīst of heuene was him with.  
 Hē was Engelōndes blōme.  
 Was nōn sō bōld lōnd tō rōme,  
 65 Pat durstē upōn his [līpē] bringhe  
 Hunger, ne [ōt]here wicke þinghe.  
 Hwan hē filēde hise fōos,  
 Hē mādē hem lurkēn, and crēpēn in wrōs:  
 Pe[i] hidden hem alle, and hēlden hem stille,  
 70 And diden al his herte wille.  
 Richt hē louēde of alle þinge,  
 Tō wrōnge micht him nō man bringe,  
 Ne for siluer, ne for gōld:  
 Sō was hē his soule hōld.  
 75 Tō þe faderlēs was hē rōth:  
 [H]wō sō dēde hem wrōng or lōth,  
 Wēre it clerc, or wēre it knicht,  
 Hē dēde hem sōne tō hāuen richt;  
 And [h]wō [sō] dide widuen wrōng,  
 80 Wēre hē neure knicht sō strōng,  
 Pat hē ne mādē him sōne kesten  
 In fetēres, and ful faste festen;  
 And [h]wō sō dide maydne shāme  
 Of hire bodī, or brouht in blāme,  
 85 Butē it wēre bī hire wille,  
 Hē mādē him sōne of limes spille.  
 Hē was te beste kniht at nēde,  
 Pat heuere michte rīden on stēde,  
 Or wepne wagge, or folc ūt lēde.  
 90 Of kniht ne hāuēde hē neure drēde,  
 Pat hē ne sprōng forth sō sparke of glēde,  
 And lēte him [knōwe] of hise hand-dēde, [204 b, 1]  
 Hw hē cōūpe with wepne spēde;

61 Engeland *Sk.* 66 othere *G.* 79 so dide *Sk.* ] *diden.*  
 82 In fetēres and. *Z.* ] And in f. 86 He *Sk.* ] *Ke.* 87 He *Sk.* ] *Ke.*  
 92 knowe *Sk.*

- 95 And oþer hē reftē him hors or wēde,  
 Or mādē him sōne handes sprēde,  
 And 'Lōuerd, mercī!' lōude grēde.  
 Hē was largē, and nō wicht gnēde:  
 Hāuedē hē nōn sō gōd brēde,  
 Nē on his bōrd nōn sō gōd shrēde,  
 100 Pat hē ne wolde þōrwit[h] fēde  
 Pōure þat on fōte yēde,  
 Fortō hāuēn of him þe mēde  
 Pat for us wolde on rōde blēde,  
 Crīst, þat al kan wisse and rēde,  
 105 Pat euere wonēth in anī þēde.

- ¶ Pe king was hōten. Aþelwōld,  
 Of wōrd, of wepne hē was bōld;  
 In Engeland was neure knicht,  
 Pat betere hēl[d] þe lōnd tō richt.  
 110 Of his bodī nē hāuedē hē eyr  
 Butē a mayden swīpe fayr,  
 Pat was sō yung þat shē ne cōūpe  
 Gōn on fō(tē), ne spēke wit[h] mōūpe.  
 Pan him tōk an iuel stróng,  
 115 Pat hē wē[l] wistē, and under-fōnd,  
 Pat his dēd was comēn him on,  
 And seyde: 'Crīst, [h]wat shal y dōn?  
 Lōuerd, [h]wat shal mē tō rēde?  
 I wōth ful wēl, ich hāuē mī mēde.  
 120 [H]w shal nōū mī douhter fāre?  
 Of hire hāuē ich mīchel käre:  
 Shē is mikel in mī þouht,  
 Of mē self is mē riht now[h]t.  
 Nō selcōuth is, þou[h] mē bē wō:  
 125 Shē nē kan spēke, ne shē kan gō.  
 Yif schē cōūpe on horse rīde,  
 And a thōusendē men bī hire sýde,

And shē wēre comen intil hēlde,  
And Engelónd shē cōūpe wēlde,

. . . . .  
. . . . .

- 130 And dōn hem of þar hire wēre *quēme*,  
An[d] hire bodī cōūpe yēme,  
Ne wolde mē *neugre iuele like*,  
þou[h] ich wēre in *heuene-rīke*.'

- Quanne hē hauede þis pleinte maked,  
135 Þer-after strónglike quāked,  
Hē sende writes sōne on-ōn  
After his érles euere-i[l]ch ōn, [204 b, 2]  
And after hisē barūns, rīche and pōure,  
Frō Rōkesburw al intō Dōuere,  
140 That þe[i] shulden comen swiþe  
Til him, that was ful unblīpe,  
Tō þat stēde þē[r] hē lay,  
In harde bōndes, *nicht* and day.  
Hē was sō faste wit[h] yuel fest,  
145 Pat hē ne mouhte hāuen nō rest;  
Hē ne mouhte nō mēte hēte[n],  
Ne hē ne mouchte nō lype gēte[n],  
Ne nōn of his iuel þat cōūpe rēd;  
Of him ne was nouht *buten* dēd.

- 150 Alle þat þe writes herden,  
Sor[w]ful an[d] sōrī til him ferdē;  
Þe[i] wrungen hōndes, and wēpen sōre,  
And yérne preyden Crīstes hōre,  
Pat hē [wolde] turnen him  
155 Ut of þat yuel þat was sō grim.

Panne þe[i] wēren comen alle  
Bifōr þe king intō the halle,

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.133 þou Z.] Me þou. 142 þer Sk. 152 wepen ] g annulled  
before w. 154 wolde Sk.

- At Winchestre, þēr hē lay,  
 'Welcome', hē seyde, 'bē yē ay!  
 160 Ful michel þank kan [y] yōw  
 That yē arēn comen tō mē nōw.'
- Quanne þe[i] wēren alle set,  
 And þe king [h]auēden i-gret,  
 Þe[i] grēten and goulēden, and gōuēn hem ille,  
 165 And hē bad hem alle bēn stille,  
 And seyde: 'þat grēting helpeth nouht,  
 For al tō dēde am ich brouht.  
 Butē nōw yē sēn þat i shal deye[n],  
 Nōw ich wille yōu alle preye[n]  
 170 Of mī douhter þat shal bē  
 Yūre lēuēdī after mē:  
 [H]wō may yēmen hire sō lōnge,  
 Bōpen hire and Engelōnde,  
 Til þat shē [b]ē wman of hēlde,  
 175 And þa[t] shē mōwe [hire] yēmen and wēlde?'
- Þe[i] ansuerēden, and seyden an-ōn,  
 Bī Crīst and bī seint Io[hā]n,  
 That þ'ér! Godrich of Cornwayle  
 Was trewe man, wit[h]-ūten faile;  
 180 Wīs man of rēd, wīs man of dēde,  
 And men hāuēden of him mikel drēde.  
 'Hē may alþer-best hire yēme, [205, 1]  
 Til þat shē mōwe wēl bēn quēne.'
- Þe king was payed of that rēde;  
 185 A wel fair clōth bringēn hē dēde,  
 And þēr-on leyde þe messebōk,  
 Pe caliz, and þe pateyn ōk,  
 Pe corporaus, þe messe-gēre;  
 Þēr-on hē garte þe érl [tō] suēre,

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160 y *Sk.* 174 be *Z.* 175 þat *Z.* 176 anon *corr. from*  
 onon(?) 178 Godrich. 182 hire alþer best. 185 wol. 189 to *Mb.*



- 190 Pat hē sholde yēmen hire wēl,  
 With-ūten lac, wit[h]-ūten tēl,  
 Til þat shē wēre tuelf winter hōld,  
 And of spēche wēre bōld;  
 And þat shē cōūpe of curteysye,  
 195 Gōn, and spēken of luue-drūrye;  
 And til þat shē louen *mouhte*,  
 [H]wōm sō hire tō gōde pouc[h]te;  
 And þat hē shulde hire yīue[n]  
 Pe *hexte* man that michte liue[n],  
 200 Pe beste, fayreste, the strangest ōk:  
 Pat dēde hē him swēren on þe hōk.  
 And þanne shulde hē Engelōnd  
 Al bitēchen in-tō hire hōnd.
- Quanne þat was sworn on þis wīse,  
 205 Pe king dēde þe mayden arise,  
 And þe érl hire bitauc[h]te,  
 And al the lōnd hē euerē awc[h]te,  
 [Of] Engelōnde euēri[lc] dēl;  
 And preide, hē shulde yēme hire wēl.
- 210 De king ne mowc[h]te dōn nō mōre,  
 But yérne preyde Godes ōre;  
 And dēde him hoslen wēl and shrīue,  
 I wōth, fīf hundred sīþes and fīue;  
 An[d] ofte dēde him sōre swinge[n],  
 215 And wit[h] hōndes smerte dinge[n];  
 Sō þat þe blōd ran of his fleys[h],  
 Pat tendre was, and swīpe neys[h].  
 Hē mādē his quiste swīpe wēl,  
 And sōne gaf it euēre-il[k] dēl.
- 220 [H]wan it was giuēn, ne mic[h]tē men finde[n]  
 Sō mikel men mic[h]tē him in wīnde[n],  
 Of his in arke, ne in chiste,

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199 beste. 204 Quanne *Sk.*] Quanne || þis *Sk.*] his(?) 218 seq.  
*transposed by Z.*

In Engelónd þat nōman wiste:  
 For al was yiuen, faire and wēl,  
 225 Þat him was lēued nō catēl.

Ðanne hē hauēde bēn ofte swngen,  
 Ofte shriuēn, and ofte dungen, [205, 2]  
 'In mānus tūas', lōude hē seyde,  
 Hōr þat hē þe spēche leyde;  
 230 To Iēsus Crīst bigan tō calle,  
 And deydeðe biforn his heymen alle.

Þan hē was dēd, þērē mic[h]tē men sē[n]  
 Þe mōste sorwē that mic[h]te bē[n];  
 Þēr was sobbing, sīking, and sōr,  
 235 Handes-wringing, and drawing bī hōr;  
 Alle grēten swīpe sōre,  
 Rīche and pōure þat þērē wōre;  
 An[d] mikel sorwe hāuēden alle,  
 Lēuedyēs in bōure, knic[h]tēs in halle.

240 Quan þat sorwē was somdēl lōten,  
 And þe[i] hauēden lōnge grōten,  
 Belles dēdeþ þe[i] sōne ringen,  
 Monkes and prēstes messe singen;  
 And sauterēs dēdeþ þe[i] manīē rēden,  
 245 Þat God self shulde his soule lēden  
 Intō heuēne, biforn his sone,  
 And þēr wit[h]-ūten hēnde wone.

## [II.]

Þan hē was tō þe érpe brouht,  
 Þe rīche érl foryat [hē] nouht  
 250 Þat hē ne dēde al Engelónd  
 Sōne sayse intil his hōnd;  
 And in þe castels lēth hē dō

- Pe knic[h]tes hē mic[h]te tristen tō;  
 And alle þe englis[h] dēdē hē swēre[n]  
 255 Pat þe[i] shulde[n] him ghōd fey bēren;  
 Hē yaf alle men, þat gōd [him] pouc[h]te,  
 Liue[n] and deye[n] til þat h[ē] mouc[h]te,  
 Til þat þe kinges dow[h]ter wōre  
 Tuenti winter hōld, and mōre.
- 260 Danne hē hauēde tāken þis ōth  
 Of érles, barūns, lēf and lōth,  
 Of knic[h]tes, chérles, frē and þewe,  
 Iustises dēdē hē māken newe,  
 Al Engelónd tō fāren þorw,  
 265 Frō Dōuere intō Rōkesborw.  
 Schirēues hē sette, bēdels, and greyues,  
 Grith-sergeanz, wit[h] lōnge gleyues,  
 To yēmen wilde wodes and pāþes  
 Frō wicke men, that wolde dōn scāþes;  
 270 And fortō hāue[n] alle at his crī,  
 At his wille, at his mercī;  
 Pat nōn durste bēn him ageyn, [205 b, 1]  
 Érl ne barūn, knic[h]t ne sweyn.  
 Wislike, for sōth, was him wēl  
 275 Of folc, of wepne, of catēl.  
 Sōþlike, in a līte þrawe  
 Al Engelónd of him stōd awe;  
 Al Engelónd was of him adrad,  
 Sō þe bēste his frō þe gad.
- 280 Þe kinges douhter gan [tō] þrīue,  
 And wex þe fayrest wman on līue.  
 Of alle þewes w[as] shē wīs,  
 Pat gōde wēren, and of prīs.  
 Þe mayden Góldeboru was hōten;

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256 him *Sk.* 257 he *Sk.*] him. 267 sergeans. 275 caſtel *ms.*  
 278 adrad *in ms. altered from adred.* 279 his þe beste. 280 bi-  
 gan || to *Wi.* 282 was *Sk.*

285 For hire was manī a tēr igrōten.

Quanne þe érl Godrich him herde  
 Of þat mayðen, h̄w wē[l s]hē ferde,  
 H̄w wīs shē was, [h]w̄ chāste, h̄w fayr,  
 And þat shē was þe rihte eyr  
 290 Of Engelónd, of al þe rīke:  
 Þō bigan Godrich tō sīke,  
 And seyde: '[H]weþer shē sholde bē  
 Quēn and lēueðī ðuer mē?  
 Hweþer shē sholde al Engelónd,  
 295 And mē, and mīne, hāueŋ in hire bōnd?  
 Daþeit hwō it hire thāue!  
 Shal shē it neuere mōre hāue.  
 Sholde ic yīue a fōl, a þerne,  
 Engelónd, þou[h] shē it yerne?  
 300 Daþeit hwō it hire yīue,  
 Euere mōre hwīl ī liue!  
 Shē is waxen al tō prūd,  
 For gōde mētes, and nōble shrūd,  
 Þat hīc haue yīuen hire tō ofte;  
 305 Hīc haue yēmed hire tō softe.  
 Shal it nouht bēn als shē þenkes:  
 Hōpe māketh fōl man ofte blenkes.  
 Ich hāue a sonē, a ful fayr knāue,  
 Hē shal Engelónd al bāue.  
 310 Hē shal [bēn] king, hē shal bēn sīre,  
 Sō brōūke ī euere mī blāke swīre!'

Hwan þis traysōn was al þouht,  
 Of his ðth ne was him nouht.  
 Hē lēt his ðth al ðuer-gō,  
 315 Þēr-of ne yaf hē nouht a strō;  
 Bute sōne dēde hire fēte,  
 Ōr hē wolde hēten anī mēte, [205 b, 2]

- Frō Winchester, þēr shē was,  
 Alsō a wicke traytūr Iudas;  
 320 And dēde lēden hirē tō Dōure,  
 Þat standeth on þe sēis ōure;  
 And þērhinne dēde hirē fēde  
 Pōurelikē in fēble wēde.  
 Pe castel dēde hē yēmen sō,  
 325 Þat nōn ne mic[h]te comen hirē tō  
 Of hire frēnd, with [hirē] tō spēken,  
 Þat heuere mic[h]tē hirē bāle wrēken.

- Of Góldeboru shul wē nōū lōten,  
 Þat nouht ne blinneth fortō grōten,  
 330 Þat shē liğgēth in prisōūn:  
 Iēsus Crīst, that Lāzarūn  
 Tō liue brouc[h]tē frō dēdebōndes,  
 Hē lēse hirē wit[h] hise hōndes;  
 And lēue shē mō[te] him y-sē  
 335 Heye hangen on galwe-trē,  
 Þat hirē haued in sorwe brouht,  
 Sō as shē ne misdēde nouht!

## [III.]

- Sa[y] wē nōū forth in hūre spellē!  
 In þat tīme, sō it bifelle,  
 340 Was in þe lón[d] of Denemark  
 A rīche king, and swyþe stark.  
 P[e] nāme of him was Birkabeyn,  
 Hē hāuēde manī knic[h]t and sueyn;  
 Hē was fayr man, and wicht,  
 345 Of bodī hē was þe beste knicht  
 Þat euere mic[h]te lēden ūth hēre,  
 Or stēde onne rīde, or handlen spēre;  
 Prē children hāuēde hē bī his wīf,  
 Hē hem louēde sō his lif.

- 350 Hē hāuēðe a sonē [and] douhtres twō,  
 Swiþe fayrē, as it fel sō.  
 Hē þat wile nōn forbēre,  
 Riche ne pōurē, king ne kaysēre,  
 Dēð him tōk þan hē bes[t] wolde
- 355 Liuen, but hyse dayes wērē fulde;  
 Pat hē ne mouc[h]tē nō mōre liue,  
 For gól[d] ne siluēr, ne for nō gyue.
- Hwan hē þat wiste, rāþe hē sēnde  
 After prēstes fēr an[d] hēnde,
- 360 Chanōūnes gōðe, and monkes bōþe,  
 Him for to wisse[n] and tō rōþe,  
 Him for tō hoslen an[d] tō shrīue, [206, 1]  
 Hwīl his bodī wērē on līue.
- Hwan hē was hosled [wēl] and shriuēn,  
 365 His quiste māķeð, and for him gyuen,  
 Hisē knic[h]tes dēðe hē alle sit[t]e[n];  
 For þorw hem hē wolde wite[n],  
 Hwō mic[h]te yēmē hisē children yunge,  
 Til þat þe[i] kōūþen spēķen wit[h] tunge;
- 370 Spēķen and gangēn, on horse rīden,  
 Knic[h]tes an[d] sweynes bī herē siden.
- þe[i] spōķen þēr-offē, and chōsen sōne  
 A rīche man þat under mōne  
 Was þe trewest, as hē wēnde,
- 375 Godard, þe kinges oune frēnde;  
 And seyden, hē mouchtē hem best lōke,  
 Yif þat hē hem undertōke,  
 Til hisē sone mouhte bēre  
 Helm on hēuēð, and lēðen ūt hēre,
- 380 In his hand a spēre stark,

350 and *Sk.* 351 it fel] fel it. 354 best *Sk.* 361 for *Sk.* ]  
 forthm || rōþe ] rede. 362 hoslen *M.* ] hoslon || forto. 373 þat *Z.* ]  
 was. 374 as *Z.* ] þat.

And king bēn māķeð of Denemark.

- Hē wēl trōwede þat þe[i] seyde,  
 And on Godard handes leyde,  
 And seyde: 'Hēre bi-tēche ī þe  
 385 Mine children alle þrē,  
 Al Denemark, and al mī fē,  
 Til þat mī sone of hēlde bē;  
 But þat ich wille, þat þō[ū] suere  
 On auter, and on messe-gēre,  
 390 On þe belles þat men ringeþ,  
 On messe-bōk þe prēst on singeþ,  
 Þat þōū mīne children s(h)alt wē[l] yēme,  
 Pat here kin bē ful wēl quēme,  
 Til mī sone mōwē bēn knicht,  
 395 Þanne bitēche him þō his richt:  
 Denemark, and þat þertil lónges,  
 Casteles and tūnes, wodeþ and wónges!'

- Godard stirt up, an[d] swōr al þat  
 Þe king him bad, and siþen sat  
 400 Bi the knic[h]tes, þat þēr wōre,  
 Pat wēpen alle swiþe sōre  
 For þe king þat deide sōne:  
 Iēsus Crīst, that māķede mōne  
 On þe mirke niht tō shīne,  
 405 Witē his soule frō helle-pīne;  
 And lēue þat it mōte wone  
 In heuene-riche with Godes sone! [206, 2]

#### [IV.]

- Hwan Birkabeyn was leyd in grāue,  
 Þe ērl dēde sōne tāķe þe knāue  
 410 Hauelok, þat was þe eir,  
 . . . . .

- Swanborow, his sister, Helfléd þe tōþer,  
 And in þe castel dēðe hē hem dō,  
 Þēr nōn ne mic[h]tē hem comen tō  
 Of here kyn, þēr þei sperd wōre;  
 415 Þēr þe[i] grēten ofte sōre,  
 Bōþe for hunger and for kóld,  
 Or þe[i] wēreþ þrē winter hólð.  
 Fēblelikē hē gaf hem clōþes,  
 Hē ne yaf a notē of hise oþes;  
 420 Hē hem clōþede ríht, ne fedde,  
 Ne dēðe hem ríchelike bedde.  
 Þannē Godard was sikerlike  
 Under God þe mōste swike,  
 Þat eure in érþe shāped was,  
 425 With-ūten ōn, þe wi[c]kē Iudas.  
 Hāue hē þe malisūn tō-day  
 Of alle þat eure spēken may:  
 Of patriark, and of pōpe,  
 And of prēst with lōken kōpe,  
 430 Of monēkes, and hermites bōþe,  
 . . . . .  
 And of þe lēue hōlī rōde,  
 Þar God him-selue ran on blōde!  
 Crīst warīe him with his mōūth!  
 Warīed wrþe hē of norþ and sūth,  
 435 Offē alle men, þat spēken kunne,  
 Of Crīst, þat māde mōne and sunne!
- Þannē hē hāueðe of al þe lónd  
 Þe folk tillēd in-til his hónd,  
 And alle hāuēden sworeþ him ōth,  
 440 Rīche and pōure, lēf and lōth,  
 Þat þe[i] sholden hise wille frēme,

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421 Ne hem ne dede || bedde *St.* ] bebedde. 431 holi rode *on erasure.* 432 þar ] þat. 435 man. 436 made *Sk.* ] maude. 438 Al þe folk.



And þat þe[i] shulde[n] him nouht grēme,  
 Hē pouhte a ful stróng trecherȳ,  
 A traysōn and a felonȳ,  
 445 Of þe children fortō māke:  
 Þe deuēl of helle him sōne tāke!

Hwan þat was pouht, onōn hē ferde  
 Tō þe tōur þēr þe[i] wōreŋ sperde,  
 Þēr þe[i] grēteŋ for hunger and cōld:  
 450 Þe knāue þat was sumdēl bōld,  
 Kam him ageyn, on knēs him sette,  
 And Godard feyre hē þēr grette; [206 b, 1]  
 And Godard seyde: '[H]wat is yw?  
 Hwī grēte yē and goulēn nōū?'  
 455 'For us hungreth swīpe sōre',  
 Seyden þe[i] wiþuten mōre,  
 'Wē ne hāue tō hēte, ne wē ne hāue  
 Hēr-inne neyther kniht ne knāue  
 Þat yiuēth us drinken, ne nō mēte,  
 460 Haluendēl þat wē mōūn ēte.  
 Wō is us þat wē wēreŋ born!  
 Weilawei! nis it nō kórŋ,  
 Þat men mic[h]te mākeŋ of brēd?  
 Us hungreth [sōre], wē āreŋ ney dēd.'

465 Godard herde here wō,  
 Thēr-offe yaf hē nouht a strō,  
 But tōk þe maydnes bōthe sāmen,  
 Al-sō it wēre up-on hiis gāmen;  
 Al-sō hē wolde with hem leyke,  
 470 Þat wēreŋ for hunger grēne and bleike.  
 Of bōpeŋ hē karf on twō herē þrōtes,  
 And siþen [shar] hem al tō grōtes.

Þēr was sorwe, [h]wō sō it sowe,

- 475 Hwan þe children bi þ[e] wowe  
 Leyen and sprauleden in þe blōd :  
 Hauelok it saw, and þe[r]-bi stōd.  
 Ful sōrī was þat sēlī knāue,  
 Mikel drēd hē mouhte hāue,  
 For at hisē hertē hē saw a knif,  
 480 For tō rēuen him hisē lȳf.  
 But þe k[n]āue, þat litel was,  
 Hē knēleðe bifōr þat [wicke] Iudas,  
 And seyde: 'Lōuerd, merci nōū!  
 Manrēde, lōuerd, biddī yōū.  
 485 Al Denemark ī wilē yōū yīue,  
 Tō þat forward þū latē mē liue;  
 Hērē hī wilē on bōke swēre,  
 Pat neure mōrē ne shal ī bēre  
 Aye[i]n þē, lōuerd, shél[d] ne spēre,  
 490 Ne ōþer wepne that may yōū dēre.  
 Lōuerd, hāue merci of mē!  
 Tō-day ī wilē frō Denemark flē,  
 Ne neuere mōre comen ageyn:  
 Swēren y wilē, þat Bircabein  
 495 Neuere yēte mē ne gat.'
- ✓
- Hwan þe deue(l) he[r]de þat,  
 Sum-dēl bigan him for tō rewe; [206 b, 2]  
 With-drōw þe knif, þat was lewe  
 Of þe sēlī children blōd;  
 500 Þēr was mirācle fair and gōd,  
 Pat hē þe knāue nouht ne slōū,  
 But fo[r] rewnesse him pit[h]-drōw.  
 Of [H]auelok rewede him ful sōre,  
 And þouc[h]tē, hē wolde þat hē dēd wōre,  
 505 But ōn þat hē nouht wit[h] his hēnd  
 Ne drēpe him [self], þat fūle fēnd!

474 þe Sk. 476 þer Sk. 481 knaue Sk. 482 wicke Mb.  
 490 wepne Sk. ] wepne bere. 495 birca annulled before yete.  
 496 herde Sk. 502 for Sk. 506 self ] nouth.

- Pouc[h]tē hē, als hē him bi-stōd,  
 Stārendē als hē wēre wōd;  
 'Yif y̅ latē him līues gō,  
 510 Hē mic[h]tē mē wirchen michel wō.  
 Grith ne gēty neuere mō,  
 Hē may [mē] waiten for tō slō;  
 And y[i]f hē wēre brouc[h]t of līne,  
 And mīne children wolden thrīue,  
 515 Lōuerdinges after mē  
 Of al Denemārk mic[h]tēn þe[i] bē.  
 God it witē, hē shal bēn dēd,  
 Wilē ī tāken nōn oþer rēd;  
 I shal dō casten him in þe sē,  
 520 Þer ī wilē þat hē drench[ed] bē;  
 Abōuten his hals an anker gōd,  
 Þat hē ne flēte in the flōd.'
- Þer anōn hē dēde sēnde  
 After a fishēre þat hē wēnde  
 525 Þat wolde al his wille dō,  
 And sōne anōn hē seyde him tō:  
 'Grim, þōū wōst þū art mī þral;  
 Wilte dōn mī wille al,  
 Þat ī wile bidden þē,  
 530 Tō-morwen [ī] shal mākēn þē frē,  
 And auc[h]tē þē yēuen, and rīche māke[n],  
 With-þan þū wilt þis child tāke[n],  
 And lēden him with þē tō-nicht,  
 Þan þōū sēst þe mōne-liht,  
 535 In-tō þe sē, and dōn him þer-inne.  
 Al wilē [ī] tāken on mē þe sinne.'

Grim tōk þe child, and bōnd him faste,  
 Hwīl þe bōndes mic[h]te laste,  
 Þat wēren of ful strōng[e] līne.

512 me *Sk.* 519 se *Sk.* ] she. 520 drenched *Sk.* 530 i *Sk.*  
 534 þe *Sk.* ] se. 536 i *Sk.*

- 542 to go. 544 wreke *M.*] wreken. 551 As ] Hwan || bad ]  
hauede. 552 lede *Sk.* 554 makeden. 560 wilth *M.* || saue ] haue.  
565 Leue *Sk.* 567 so harde adoun *M.*] adoun so harde. 568 he  
þer crakede hise croune *M.*] hise croune he þer crakede.

Ageyn a grēt stōn, pēr it lay:  
 570 Pō Hauēlok mic[h]tē sei: 'Weilawei,  
 Pat euere was ī kinges barn!  
 Pat him ne hāuēde grip or arn,  
 Lēōūn or wlf, wluine or bēre,  
 Or ōper bēst, pat wo(l)dē him dēre!

575 Sō lay pat child tō middel-nicht,  
 Pat Grim bad Lēue bringen lic[h]t,  
 For tō dōn on [him] his clōþes:  
 'Ne þenkeste now[h]t of mīnē ōþes  
 Pat ich hauē mī lōuerd swōren?  
 580 Ne wile ī nouht bē forlōren.  
 I shal bēren him tō þe sē, —  
 Pōū wōst pat [it bi]hōueþ mē, —  
 And ī shal drenchen him pēr-inne;  
 Rīs up swīþe, an[d] gō þū binne,  
 585 And blou þe fīr, and liht a kandell!

Als shē shulde hisē clōþes handel  
 On fortō dōn, and blowe þe fīr, [207, 2]  
 Shē saw pēr-inne a liht ful shīr,  
 Alsō briht sō it wēre day,  
 590 Abōūte þe knāue pēr hē lay.  
 Of hisē mōūth it stōd, a stēm,  
 Als it wēre a sunnebēm;  
 Alsō liht was it pēr-inne,  
 So pēr brenden cerġes [pr]inne.  
 595 'Iēsus Crīst', [q]wat[h] dāme Lēue,  
 'Hwat is pat liht in ūre clēue?  
 Rīs up, Grim, and lōke [h]wat it mēnes!  
 Hwat is þe liht, as þōū wēnes?

De[i] stirten bōþe up tō the (k)nāue, —  
 600 For man shal gōd wille hāue, —

577 him *Sk.* 582 it *Hu.* || bih. *Sk.* 587 þe *Sk.* ] per. 594 þrinne  
*Sk.* 597 Rīs *Z.* ] Sir. 599 knaue *corr. over* gnaue.

- Unkeueleðen him, and swīpe unbóunden,  
 And sōne anōn [upon] him fúnden,  
 Als þe[i] tirnedēn of his serk,  
 On hisē riht shuldrē a kyne-merk;  
 605 A swīpe briht, a swīpe fair.  
 'Goddōt', quath Grim, 'þis [is] ūre eir  
 Pat shal [bēn] lōuerd of Denemark!  
 Hē shal bēn king stróng and stark;  
 Hē shal hāuen in his hand  
 610 A[l] Denemark and Engeland;  
 Hē shal dō Godard ful [grēt] wō;  
 Hē shal him hangen, or [al] quik flō;  
 Or hē shal him al quic grāue:  
 Of him shal hē nō mercī hāue.'
- 615 Pus seide Grim, and sōre grēt,  
 And sōne fel him tō þe fēt,  
 And seide: 'Lōuerd, hāue mercī  
 Of mē, and Lēue, that is mē bī!  
 Lōuerd, wē āren bōþe þīne,  
 620 Þīne chérles, þīne hīne.  
 Lōwerd, wē sholen þē wēl fēde,  
 Til þat þū con[n]e rīðen on stēde,  
 Til þat þū con[n]e ful wēl bēre  
 Helm on hēued, shéld and spere.  
 625 Hē ne shal neuere, sikerlike,  
 [Wite it], Godard, þat fūle swike.  
 Þoru oþer man, lōuerd, þan þē,  
 S[h]al ī neuere frēman bē.  
 Þōu shalt, lōuerd, frē [mē] māken,  
 630 For ī shal yēmen þē, and wāken;  
 Þoru þē wilē ī frēdōm hāue.'
- Þō was Haueloc a blīpe knāue; [207 b, 1]  
 Hē sat him up, and crāuēde hrēd,

602 upon *Sk.* 606 is *Sk.* 607 ben *Sk.* 610 Al *Sk.* 625 neuere  
 wite. 627 þe *Mb.*] þoru þe. 628 shal *Wi.* 629 shalt me.

- 635 And seide: 'Ich am [wel] ney dēd,  
Hwat for hunger, [h]wat for bōndes  
Pat þū leideſt on mīn hōndes;  
And for [þe] keuel at þe laſte,  
Pat in mī mōūth was þriſt [sō] faſte.  
Ȝ was þē[r]-with sō harde prangled,  
640 Pat ī was þē[r]-with ney ſtrangled.'

- 'Wēl is mē þat þū mayht hēte!  
Goddōth', quath Lēue, 'ȝ ſhal þē fēte  
Brēd an[d] chēse, butere and milk,  
Pastees and flaunes, al with suilk  
645 Shole wē sōne þē wēl fēde,  
Lōuerd, in þis mikel nēde.  
Sōth it is, þat men seyt[h] and suēreth:  
Pēr God wilē helpen, nouht ne dēreth.'

- Danne shē hauēde brouht þe mēte,  
650 Hauēloc anōn bigan tō ēte  
Grundlike, and was ful bliþe;  
Cōūþe hē nouht his hunger mīþe.  
A lōf hē hēt, ȝ wōth, and mōre,  
For him hungrede swīþe sōre.  
655 Prē dayes pēr-biforn, ī wēne,  
Et hē nō mēte, þat was we(l) sēne.

- Hwan hē hauēde ēten, and was fed,  
Grim dēde māken a ful fayr bed;  
Undlōþe(d) him, and dēde him þer-inne,  
660 And seyde: 'Slēp, sonē, with michel winne!  
Slēp wel faſte, and drēd þē nouht,  
Frō sorwe tō ioie art þū brouht.'

Sōne sō it was liht of day,  
Grim it under-tōk, þe wey

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634 wel *Sk.* 637 þe *Sk.* || for keuel *on eras.* 639 seq. þer  
*Sk.* 640 þe *on eras.*

- 665 Tō þe wicke traitōūr Godard,  
 Pat was [of] Denema[r]k a stīward,  
 And seyde: 'Lōuerd, dōn ich hāue  
 Pat þōū mē bēde of þe knāue:  
 Hē is drenched in þe flōd,  
 670 Abōūten his hals an anker gōd;  
 Hē is witer-like dēd,  
 Etēth hē neure mōre brēd;  
 Hē līþ drenched in þe sē.  
 Yif mē góld [and] ōþer fē,  
 675 Pat y mōwe rīche bē;  
 And with þī chartre mākē [mē] frē,  
 For þū ful wēl bi-hētet mē, [207 b, 2]  
 Panne ī last spak with þēl'  
  
 Godard stōd, and lōkēde on him  
 680 Poruh-like, with eyne grim,  
 And seyde: 'Wiltū [nōū] bēn érl?  
 Gō hōm swīþe, fūle drit-chér!  
 Gō hēþen, and bē euere-mōre  
 Pral and chér!, als þōū ōr wōre!  
 685 Shal[tū] hāue nōn ōþer mēde;  
 For lītel ī [shal] dō þē lēde  
 Tō þe galues, sō God mē rēde!  
 For þōū hauē[t] dōn a wicke dēde.  
 Þōū mai[h]t stōnden hēr tō lōnge,  
 690 Butē þōū swīþe [h]ēþen gōnge.'

## [V.]

Grim þouc[h]tē tō lāte þat hē ran  
 Frō þat traytōūr, þa[t] wicke man;  
 And þouc[h]te: '[H]wat shal mē tō rōþe?  
 Witē hē him līue[s], hē wilē [us] bōþe

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665 þe expunged behind wicke. 674 and Sk. 676 me Sk. 680 þoruth. 681 nou Sk. 686 i shal Sk. ] ig ms. 690 heþen M. 692 þat M. 693 rōþe ] rede. 694 liues ] on liue || us Wi.



- 695 Heye hangen on galwe-trē:  
 Betere us is of londe tō flē,  
 And berwen bōpen ure liues,  
 And mine children, and mine wīues.<sup>2</sup>
- 700 Grim solde sōne al his cōrn,  
 Shēp wit[h] wolle, nēth wit[h] hōrn,  
 Hors, and swīn, [and gēt] wit[h] bērd,  
 Pe gees, pe hennēs of pe yērd;  
 Al hē solde, þat ouht douhte,  
 That hē eure selle mouc[h]te,  
 705 And al hē tō pe penī drōū.  
 Hisē ship hē greyþede wēl inōw,  
 He dēde it tēre, an[d] ful wēl pike,  
 Pat it ne dōutede sōnd ne krike;  
 Pēr-inne dide [hē] a ful gōd mast,  
 710 Strōnge kables, and ful fast,  
 Ores gōd, a ful gōd sey!:  
 Pēr-inne wantede nouht a naye,  
 Pat euere hē sholde pēr-inne dō.
- 715 Hwan hē hauēdet greyþed sō,  
 Hauelok pe yunge hē dēde pēr-inne,  
 Him and his wīf, hisē sonēs þrinne,  
 And hisē twō dou[h]tres, þat faire wōre,  
 And sōne dēde hē leyn in an ore,  
 And drōū him tō pe heye sē,  
 720 Pēre hē alþer-best miht flē.
- Frō londe wōren þe[i] botē a mīle,  
 Ne wēre [þei] fēre[d] but ane hwile, [208, 1]  
 Pat it ne gan a wīnd tō rīse  
 Oūt of þe north men calleth bīse,  
 725 And drōf hem intil Engelōnd,

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701 and gate *Sk.* 711 a ] an. 720 mith alþer best *ms.*  
 722 fered ] neuere. 723 bigan.

Pat al was siþen in his hōnd,  
 His, þat Hauðlok was þe nāme;  
 But ōr hē hāuēde michel shāme,  
 Michel sorwe, and michel tēne,  
 730 And yēte hē gat it al bidēne;  
 Als yē shuleþ nōw forthwar[d] lēre[n],  
 Y[i]f that yē wilen þēr-tō hēre[n].

In Humber Grim bigan tō lēnde,  
 In Lindeseye, riht at þe north-ēnde.  
 735 Þēr sat [h]is ship up-on þe sōnd,  
 But Grim it drōw up tō þe lōnd;  
 And þere hē mādē a lītel cōte,  
 Tō him and [ēk] tō hise flōte.  
 Bigan hē þere for tō érde,  
 740 A lītel hūs tō mākēn of érþe,  
 Sō þat hē [and his] wēl þore  
 Of here herboru herborwed wōre;  
 And for þat Grim þat plāce au[h]te,  
 Þe stēde of Grim þe nāme lau[h]te;  
 745 Sō þat Grimesbī [hit] calle  
 Þat þēr-offe spēken, alle,  
 And sō shuleþ men callen it ay,  
 Bituēne þis and dōmesday.

Grim was fishēre swīþe. gōd,  
 750 And mikel cōuþe on the flōd;  
 Manī gōd fish þēr-inne hē tōk,  
 Bōþe with neth, and [ēk] with hōk.  
 Hē tōk þe sturgiūn, and þe qual,  
 And þe turbut, and lax with-al,  
 755 Hē tōk þe sēle, and [ēk] þe hēl;  
 Hē spedde ofte swīþe wēl:  
 Kēling hē tōk, and tumberel,

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730 yete ] þrie.    731 lere *Sk.* ] here.    739 erde ] érþe.  
 741 þore ] þore were.    742 wore ] þere.    745 hit calle *Z.* ] calleth  
 alle.    755 hwel.

- Hëring, and þe makerel,  
 Pe butte, þe schulle, þe þórnebāke:  
 760 Gōde paniërs dēde hē māke  
 On til him, and oþer þrinne,  
 Til hise sonēs tō bēre~~n~~ fish inue,  
 Up o lōnde tō selle and fōnge.  
 Forbar he neyþe[r] tūn, ne grōnge,  
 765 Pat hē ne tō yēde with his wāre;  
 Kam hē neuere hōm hand-bāre,  
 Pat hē ne brouc[h]te brēd and sowel, [208, 2]  
 In his shirte, or in his couel,  
 In his pōke bēnes and kórn:  
 770 Hise swink ne hauēde hē now[h]t forlorn.  
 And hwan hē tōk þe grēte laumprei,  
 Ful wē[l] he cōuþe þe rihte wei  
 Tō Lincolne, þe gōde boru;  
 Ofte hē yēde it þoru and þoru,  
 775 Til hē hauēde al wēl sóld,  
 And þēr-fōre þe peniēs tóld.  
 Þanne hē cam þenne, þe[i] wēre bliþe,  
 For hōm hē brouhte fēle sīþe  
 Wastels, simenels with þe hórñ,  
 780 Hise pōkes fullē of mēle an[d] kórñ,  
 Nētes flesh, shēpes, and swīnes,  
 And hemp tō māken of gōde līnes,  
 And strōnge rōpes tō hise net[t]es:  
 In þe sē hē offte set[t]es.

## [VI.]

- 785 Þus-gāte Grim him fayre ledde,  
 Him and his gēnge wēl hē fedde  
 Wel twelf winter, oþer mōre.  
 Hauelok was war þat Grim swank sōre  
 For his mēte, and hē lay at hōm:

764 neyþer *Sk.* 772 wel *Sk.* 775 al *Sk.* ] wol on erasure.  
 783 nettes *Z.* 784 se he *Z.* ] se weren he || settes *Z.*

- 790 Pouhte: 'Ich am nōū nō grōm;  
 Ich am wēl waxen, and wēl may ēten  
 Mōrē þan euere Grim may gēten.  
 Ich ēte mōrē, bī God on līue,  
 Pan Grim an[d] hise children fiue.
- 795 It ne may nouht bēn þus lōnge;  
 Goddōt, y wile with he[m] gōnge,  
 For tō lēren sum gōd tō gēte;  
 Swinken ich wolde for mī mēte.  
 It is nō shāme fortō swinken;
- 800 Þe man þat may wēl ēten and drinken,  
 Þar nouht ne hāue but on swink lōng;  
 Tō liġġen at hōm it is ful wróng.  
 God yelde him þer īne may,  
 Pat haueth mē fed tō þis day!
- 805 Gladlike īwile þe paniērs bēre[n];  
 Ich wōth, ne shal it mē nouht dēre[n],  
 þou[h] þer bē inne a birþene grēt,  
 Alsō heuī als a nēth.  
 Shal ich neuere lengere dwelle[n]:
- 810 Tō morwen shal ich forth [bē] pelle[d].<sup>2</sup>

- On þe morwen, hwan it was day,  
 Hē stirt up sōne, and nouht ne lay; [208 b, 1]  
 And cast a paniēr on his bac,  
 With fish gaueleð als a stac;
- 815 Alsō michel hē bar him ōne,  
 Sō þe fourē, bī mīne mōne.  
 Wēl hē it bar, and sólde it wēl,  
 Þe siluer hē brouhte hōm il[c] dēl;  
 [Of] al þat hē þer-fōre tōk
- 820 With-hēld hē nouht a ferþinges nōk.  
 Sō yēde hē forth ilke [a] day,  
 Pat hē neuere at hōme lay.

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796 hem ] þe. 801 þar ] þat. 802 wrong ] strong. 814 gaueled St. ] giueled. 816 þe ] he.

Sō wolde hē his mester lēre.

- 825 Bifel it sō, a [ful] stróng dēre  
 Bigan tō rīse of kórn of brēd,  
 That Grim ne cōūþe nō gōd rēd,  
 Hw hē sholde his meinē fēde;  
 Of Hauelok hāuēde hē michel drēde:  
 For hē was stróng, and wēl mouhte ēte[n]  
 830 Mōre þanne heuere mouhte hē gēte[n];  
 Ne hē ne mouhte on þe sē tāke  
 Neyþer lēnge, ne þór[e]bāke,  
 Ne nōn oþer fish hē mouhte  
 His meynē fēden with, þat douhte.  
 835 Of Hauelok hē hāuēde kære,  
 Hwilgāt þat hē michte fāre;  
 Of his children was him nouht,  
 Of Hauelok was al hise þouht,  
 And seyde: 'Hauelok, dēre sone,  
 840 I wēne that wē deye mone  
 For hunger; þis dēre is sō stróng,  
 And hūre mēte is ēten lóng.  
 Betere is þat þū heere góng,  
 Pan þū hēre dwelle lóng;  
 845 Hēpen þōw may[h]t gangen tō lāte;  
 Thōu canst ful wēl þe richte gāte  
 Tō Lincolne, þe gōde borw,  
 Þōu hauest it gōn ful ofte þoru;  
 Of mē ne is mē nouht a slō.  
 850 Betere is þat þū þider gō,  
 For þēr is manī gōd man inne,  
 Þēr þōu may[h]t þī mēte winne.  
 But wō is mē! þōu art sō nāked;  
 Of mī seyl y wolde þē wēre mākēd  
 855 A clōth, þōu mihtest inne góngē,

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832 þorne *Sk.* 833 he mouhte ] þat douthe. 834 þat douhte ]  
 he mouthe.

Sone, nō cōld þat þū ne fōnge.'

[VII.]

Hē tōk þe sh[ē]res of þe nayl, [208 h, 2]  
 And māde him a couel of þe sayl,  
 And Hauelok didē it sōne on;  
 860 Hāuēde [hē] neyþer hōseþ ne shōn,  
 Ne nōne kin[n]es oþe[r] wēde;  
 Tō Lincolne barfōt hē yēde.

Hwan hē kam þē[r], hē was ful wil,  
 Ne hāuēde hē nō frēnd tō gangen til;  
 865 Twō dayes þēr fastendē hē yēde,  
 Þat nōn for his werk wolde him fēde;  
 Þe þridde day herde hē calle:  
 'Bērmēn, bērmēn, hider forth alle!'  
 [Pōure þat on fōte yēde]  
 870 Sprongen forth sō sparke on glēde.  
 Hauelok shōf dūn [wel] nȳne or tēn,  
 Riht amid[d]ewarde þe fen,  
 And stirte forth [un]tō þe kōk,  
 [Pēr þe érles mēte hē tōk,]  
 875 Þat hē bouhte at þe briġġe:  
 Þe bērmēn lēt hē alle liġġe,  
 And bar þe mēte tō þe castel,  
 And gat him þēre a ferþing wastel.

Det oþer day kepte hē ōk  
 880 Swīpe yérne þe érles kōk,  
 Til þat hē saw him on þe b[r]iġġe,  
 And bī him manī fishes liġġe.  
 Þe hērles mēte hauēde hē bouht  
 Of Cornwaile, and kalde oft:

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857 sheres *Sk.* 861 oþer *Sk.* 863 þer *Sk.* 869 and 874 supplied by *Sk.* 879 þe expunged before ok. 881 saw *Wi.* ] say || brigge *Sk.* 884 Cornwalie.

- 885 'Bērmēn, bērmēn, hider swīpe!  
 Hauēlok it herde and was ful blipe,  
 Pat hē herde: 'Bērmēn!' calle[n];  
 Alle māde hē hem dūn falle[n]  
 Pat in his gāte yēden and stōde,  
 890 Wel sixtēne laddes gōde.  
 Als hē lēp þe kōk [un]til,  
 He shōf hem alle upon (an) hyl;  
 Astirte til him with his rippe,  
 And bigan þe fish tō kippe.  
 895 Hē bar up wēl a carte-lōde  
 Of seġges, laxes, playces brōde,  
 Of grēte laumprees, and of ēles;  
 Spāreðe hē neyþer tōs ne hēles,  
 Til þat hē tō þe castel cam,  
 900 Pat men frō him his birþene nam.
- Pan men haueð holpen him dōwn  
 With þe birþene of his crōun,  
 Pe kōk [bī] stōd, and on him lōw,  
 And þou[h]te him stalworþe man ynōw, [209, 1]  
 905 And seyde: 'Wiltū bēn wit[h] mē?  
 Gladlike wilē ich fēden þē;  
 Wēl is set þe mēte þū ētes[t],  
 And þe hīre þat þū gētes[t].'
- 'Goddōt', quoth hē, 'lēue sīre,  
 910 Bidde ich yōu nōn oþer hīre;  
 But yēueþ mē inōw tō ēte[n],  
 Fīr and wāter y wilē yōu fēte[n],  
 Pe fīr blowe, an[d] ful wēle māken;  
 Stīckes kan ich brēken and krāken,  
 915 And kindlen [ēk] ful wēl a fȳr,  
 And māken it tō brennen shīr;

---

891 until *Sk.* 896 of playces. 901 haueden. 903. bi *Sk.*  
 909 Goddot *Sk.* ] Soddot. 911 e annulled before yeueþ.

Ful wēl kan ich clēuen shīdes,  
 Ēles turnen of herē hīdes;  
 Ful wēl kan ich dishes swilen,  
 920 And dōn al þat yē euere wilēn.'

Quoth þe kōk: 'Wile ī nō mōre;  
 Gō þū yunder, and sit þōre,  
 And y shal yēue þē ful fair brēd,  
 And māke þē broys in þe lēd.  
 925 Sit nōw dōwn and ēt ful yérne:  
 Daþeit hwō þē mēte wérnel'

Hauelok sette him dūn. anōn,  
 Alsō stille als a stōn,  
 Til hē hauede ful wēl ēten;  
 930 Þō hauede Hauelok fayre gēten.  
 Hwan hē hauede ēten inōw,  
 Hē kam tō þe welle, wāter up-drōw,  
 And filde þē[r] a michel sō;  
 Bad hē nōn ageyn him gō:  
 935 Bi-twēn his hōndes hē bar it in,  
 A[l] him ōne tō þe kichin.  
 Bad hē nōn him wāter fēte,  
 Ne frō b[r]iġġe tō bēre þe mēte;  
 Hē bar þe turues, hē bar þe star,  
 940 Pe wode frō the briġġe hē bar;  
 Al þat euere shulde hē nytte,  
 Al hē drōw, and al hē kitte;  
 Wolde hē neuere hāuen rest,  
 Mōre þan hē wēre a bēst.  
 945 Of alle men was hē mōst mēke,  
 Lauhwende ay, and blīpe of spēke;  
 Euere hē was glad and blīpe,  
 His sorwe hē cōuþe ful wēl mīpe.  
 It ne was nōn sō lītel knāue, [209, 2]

918 turnen *St.* ] to turnen. 933 þer *Sk.* 935 But bitwen.  
 936 Al *Sk.* || he *annulled before to.* 937 fete *Mb.* ] to f. 941 shulden.



- 950 For tō leyken, ne fortō plawe,  
 Pat hē nē wo[l]de with him pleye:  
 Pe children that y[ē]den in þe weie,  
 Of him þe[i] dēden al he[r] wille,  
 And with him leykedēn here fille.
- 955 Him loueden alle, stille and bōlde,  
 Knic[h]tes, children, yunge and hōlde;  
 Alle him loueden þat him soweþ,  
 Bōþen heyemen and lowe.  
 Of him ful wīde þe wōrd spróng,
- 960 Hw hē was mīke[l], hw hē was strōng,  
 Hw fayr man God him hauēde māked,  
 But ōn þat hē was almōst nāked:  
 For hē ne hauēde nouht tō shrīde,  
 But a kouel ful unrīde,
- 965 Pat [was] fūl, and swīpe wicke,  
 Was it nouht worth a fir-sticke.
- Pe cōk bigan of him tō rewe,  
 And bouhte him clōþes, al spannewe;  
 He bouhte him bōþe hōsen and shōn,
- 970 And sōne didē him dōnes on.  
 Hwan hē was clōþed, [h]ōsed, and shod,  
 Was nōn sō fayr under God,  
 Pat euere yēte in érpe wōre,  
 Nōn þat euere mōder bōre;
- 975 It was neuere man þat yēmēde  
 In kinnerīche, þat sō wēl sēmēde  
 King or cayser fortō bē,  
 Pan hē was shrid, sō sēmēde hē;  
 For þanne þe[i] wēren alle sāmen
- 980 At Lincolne, at þe gāmen,  
 And þe érles mēn wōren al þōre,  
 Was Hauelok bī (þe) shuldren mōre  
 Pan þe mōste þat þēr kam:

---

951 wolde *Sk.* 952 yeden *Sk.* ] yð-. 953 her *Sk.* 965 was. *Sk.*  
 982 Was ] þan was.

- In armes him nōman [ne] nam,  
 985 Pat hē dōune sōne ne caste;  
 Hauelok stōd ouer hem als a mast.  
 Als hē was heie, sō was hē stróng,  
 Hē was bōpe stark and lóng;  
 In Engelónd [was] nōn hisē pēr  
 990 Of strengþe þat euere kam him nēr.  
 Als hē was stróng, sō was hē softe;  
 þou[h] a man him misdēde ofte,  
 Neuere mōre hē him misse[y]de,  
 Ne hōnd on him with yuele leyde. [209 b, 1]  
 995 Of bodi was he mayden clēne,  
 Neuere in ga[rd]ine, ne in grēne  
 pit[h] hōre ne wolde [hē] leyke ne lye,  
 Nō mōre þan it wēre a strīe.

## [VIII.]

- In þat tīme al Hengelónd  
 1000 P'ér! Godrich hāuedē in his hōnd,  
 And hē gart komēn intō þe tūn,  
 Manī érl, and manī barūn;  
 And alle [men] þat liues wēre  
 In Eng[e]lōnd, þanne wēr[e] pēre,  
 1005 Pat þey hauedēn after sent,  
 Tō bēn pēr at þe parlement.

- With hem cam manī champiōn,  
 Manī with ladde, blac and brōwn;  
 An[d] fel it sō, þat yunge men,  
 1010 Wel abōuten nīne or tēn,  
 Bigunnen pē[re] for tō layke:  
 Pider kōmen bōthe stróngē and wayke;  
 Pider kōmen lesse and mōre,

---

984 ne *Sk.* 987 so *Sk.* ] al || was he strong ] he was long ||  
 long on eras. 988 long ] strong. 989 was *Sk.* 993 misseyde  
*Sk.* ] misdēde. 996 yete in || gardine *K.* 997 hore *K.* ] hire.  
 1003 men *Sk.* 1004 Engelond *Sk.* 1007 chambioun. 1011 þer *Sk.*

- 1015 Pat in þe borw þanne wēren þōre;  
 Chaumpiōuns, and starke laddes,  
 Bōndemen with here gaddes,  
 Als þe[i] cōmen frō þe plōw;  
 Pēre was sembling [grēt] i-nōw.  
 For it ne was nōn horse-knāue  
 1020 Pō þei sholden in lōnde hāue,  
 Pat hē ne kam þider, þe leyk tō sē:  
 Biforn here fēt þanne lay a trē,  
 And putten with a mikel stōn,  
 Þe starke laddes, ful gōd wōn.  
 1025 Þe stōn was mikel, and ēk grēth,  
 And al sō heuī sō a nēth;  
 Grūd-stalwrþe man hē sholde bē,  
 Pat mouhte liften it tō his knē;  
 Was þēr neyþer clerc, ne prēst,  
 1030 Pat mihte liften it tō his brēst:  
 Pērwit[h] putten the chaumpiōuns,  
 Pat þider cōmen with þe barōuns.  
 Hwō sō mihte putten þōre  
 Biforn a-nōþer, an inch or mōre,  
 1035 Wōre hē yung, [or] wōre hē hōld,  
 Hē was for a kempe tōld.  
  
 Al-sō þe[i] stōden, an[d] ofte *gradden*,  
 Þe chaumpiōuns, and ēk the ladden,  
 And þe[i] māden mikel strōut [209 b, 2]  
 1040 Abōuten þe alþerbeste but,  
 Hauelok stōd, and lōkede þēr-til;  
 And of puttingge hē was ful wil,  
 For neuere yēte ne saw hē ōr  
 Putten the stōne, ōr þanne þōr.  
  
 1045 Hiſe mayster bad him gōn þēr-tō,

1015 Chaunpiouns. 1020 honde. 1023 putten *Sk.* ] pulten.  
 1031; 1038, 1055 chaunpiouns. 1035 he *E.* ] ye || or *Sk.* 1037 grad-  
 den *K.* ] stareden.

- Als hē cōūpe þēr-with dō.  
 Pō hisē mayster it him bad,  
 Hē was of him [ful] sōrē adrad;  
 Pērtō hē stirte sōnē anōn,  
 1050 And kipte up þat heuī stōn,  
 Pat hē sholde put[t]en wiþe;  
 Hē putte at þe firste sīþe,  
 Ouer alle þat þēr wōre,  
 Twel[f] fōtē, and sumdēl mōre.  
 1055 Þe chaumpiōūns þat [þat] put sowen,  
 Shuldreden þe[i] ilc oþer, and lōwen;  
 Wolden þe[i] nō mōrē tō putting góngē,  
 But seyðe: 'pē dwellen hēr tō lóngē.'  
  
 Pis selkōuth mihte nouht bēn hyd,  
 1060 Ful sōnē it was ful lōude kid  
 Of Hauēlok, h̄w hē warp þe stōn  
 Ouer þe laddes euērilkōn;  
 H̄w hē was fayr, h̄w hē was lóng,  
 H̄w hē was wiht, h̄w hē was stróng;  
 1065 Þorūth England yēðe þe spēke,  
 H̄w hē was stróng, and ēk [ful] mēke;  
 In the castel, up in þe halle,  
 Þe knihtes spēken þēr-of alle,  
 Sō that Godrich it herde wēl  
 1070 Þe[i] spēken of Hauēlok, euēri[lc] dēl,  
 H̄w hē was stróng man and hey,  
 H̄w hē was fayr, and ēk slei.  
 And þouchte Godrich: 'Þoru þis knāue  
 Shal ich Engelōnd al hāue,  
 1075 And mī sone after mē;  
 For sō ī wile þat it bē.  
 King Apelwōld mē dide swēre  
 Upon al þe messe-gēre,

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1055 þat þat *Sk.* 1065 speke *Sk.* ] speche. 1070 þei *Hu.*  
 1072 fayr ] strong || slei *E.* ] fri. 1077 The king.

- 1080 Pat *y* *shu*[l]dē his *douhte*[r] *yīue*  
 Pe *hexte* [man] *pat* *mihte* *liue*,  
 Pe *bestē*, *pe* *fairest*, *pe* *strangest* *ōk*;  
 Pat *gart* *hē* *mē* *swēren* on *pe* *bōk*.  
 Hwēre *mihte* *i* *finden* *anī* *sō* *hey*  
 Sō *Hauelok* *is*, or *sō* *sley*? [210, 1]  
 1085 Pou[h] *y* *souhte* *hēpen* *in-tō* *Ynde*,  
 Sō *fayr*, *sō* *stróng*, *ne* *mihte* *y* *finde*.  
*Hauelok* *is* *pat* *ilke* *knāue*,  
 Pat *shal* *Góldeborw* *hāue*.  
  
 1090 Pis *pouhte* [hē] *with* *trechery*,  
 With *traysōūn*, and *wit*[h] *feloný*;  
 For *hē* *wēnde*, *pat* *Hauelok* *wōre*  
 Sum *chérles* *sone*, and *nō* *mōre*;  
 Ne *shulde* *hē* *hāuen* of *Engellónd*  
 Onlēpī *forw* in *his*[e] *hónd*,  
 1095 With *hire*, *pat* *was* *pērof* *eyr*,  
 Pat *bōpe* *was* *gōd* and *swīpe* *fair*.  
 Hē *wēnde* *pat* *Hauelok* *wēr* a *pral*,  
 Pēr-þoru *hē* *wēnde* *hāuen* *al*  
 In *Engelónd*, *pat* *hire* *riht* *was*;  
 1100 Hē *was* [þe] *wers*[t]e *Sāthanas*  
 Pat *Iēsus* *Crīst* in *érpe* *shōp*:  
 Hanged *worpe* *hē* on an *hōk*!  
  
 After *Góldēbo*[r]w *sōne* *hē* *sēnde*,  
 Pat *was* *bōpe* *fayr* and *hēnde*,  
 1105 And *dide* *hire* *tō* *Lincolne* *bringe*[n],  
 Belles *dēde* *hē* *ageyn* *hire* *ringen*,  
 And *ioie* *hē* *māde* *hire* *swīpe* *mikel*,  
 But *nēpelēs* *hē* *was* *ful* *swikel*.  
 Hē *seyde* *pat* *hē* *sholdē* *hire* *yīue*[n]  
 1110 Pe *fayrest* *man* that *mihte* *liue*[n].

---

1079 *shulde* *Sk.* || *douther* *Sk.* 1089 *he* *Sk.* 1100 *pe* *werste*  
*Z.* *werse* *þan.* 1103 *Goldeborw* *Sk.*

Shē answeredē, and seyde anōn,  
 Bī Crīst, and bī seint Iohān,  
 Pat hire sholde nōman wedde,  
 Ne nōman bringen hire tō bedde,  
 1115 But hē wēre king, or kinges eyr,  
 Wēre hē neuere man sō fayr.

Godrich þe érl was swīþe wrōth,  
 Pat shē swōre swilk an ōth,  
 And seyde: 'Hwe[þe]r þōū wilt bē  
 1120 Quēn and lēuēdī ouer mē?  
 Þōū shalt hāue a gadeling,  
 Ne shalt þōū hāue nōn ōþer king;  
 Þē shal spūseþ mī cōkes knāue,  
 Shalt þōū nōn ōþer lōuerd hāue.  
 1125 Daþeit þat þē ōþer yīue,  
 Euere mōre hwīl ī liue!  
 Tō-mo[r]we sholen yē bēn wedded,  
 And, maugrē þīn, tō-gidere bedded.'  
 Góldeþorw grēt, and yaf hire ille, [210, 2]  
 1130 Shē wolde bēn dēd bī hire wille.

On þe morweþ, hwan day was sprungen,  
 And day-belle at kirke rungen,  
 Aftēr Hauelok sente þat Iudas,  
 Pat werse was þanne Sāthanas,  
 1135 And seyde: 'Mayster, wylte wīf?'  
 'Nay', quoth Hauelok, 'bī mī līf!  
 Hwat sholde ich with wi[mman] dō[n]?  
 I ne may hire fēde, ne clōþe, ne shō[n].  
 [H]wider sholde ich wimman bringe?  
 1140 I ne hāue nōne kin[n]es þinge:  
 I ne hāue hws, y ne hāue cōte,

---

1114 hire to ] to hire. 1119 hweþer ] hwor. 1124 Ne shalt  
 || haue lōuerd *ms.*, with signs of transposition. 1127 morwe *Sk.* ||  
 ye sholen. 1129 yaf *St.* ] yas. 1137 wimman ] wif.

Ine hāue stikke, y ne hāue sprōte,  
 I ne hāue neyþer brēd ne sowel,  
 Ne clōth, but of an hōld [h]wīth couel.  
 1145 Pis clōþes, þat ich onne hāue,  
 Aren þe kōkes, and ich his knāue.'

Godrich stirt up, and on him dóng  
 [Wiþ dintes swīþe hard and stróng,]  
 And seyde: 'But þōū hire tāke,  
 1150 Pat y wilē yēuen þē tō māke,  
 I shal hangen þē ful heye,  
 Or y shal þristen ūth þīn heie.'  
 Hauelok was ōne, and was adrad,  
 And grauntedē him al þat hē bad.

1155 Pō sēndē hē after hire sōne,  
 Þe fayrest wymman under mōne;  
 And seyde til hire, [fals] and slike,  
 Pat wicke þral, þat fōule swike:  
 'But þū þis man [wēl] under-stōnde,  
 1160 I shal flēmen þē of lōnde;  
 Or þōū shal[t] tō þe galwes renne[n],  
 And þēr þōū shalt in a fir brenne[n].'  
 Shē was adrad, for hē sō þrette,  
 And durste nouht þe spūsing lette,  
 1165 But þou[h] hire likedē swīþe ille,  
 Pouhte it was Godes wille:  
 God, þat mākēþ tō grōwen þe korn,  
 Formēdē hire wimman tō bē born.

Shē was adrad, for hē sō þrette,  
 And durste nouht þe spūsing lette,  
 1165 But þou[h] hire likedē swīþe ille,  
 Pouhte it was Godes wille:  
 God, þat mākēþ tō grōwen þe korn,  
 Formēdē hire wimman tō bē born.  
 Hwán hē hauēdē him dōn for drēde,  
 1170 Pat hē sholdē hire spūsen, and fēde,  
 And þat shē sholde til him hólde,  
 Þēr wēren penīes þicke tólde,

---

1142 I] Ne i. 1148 Sk. 1153 odrat. 1157 fals Sk. 1169 don him.

- Mikel plentē upon þe bōk:  
 Hē ys hire yaf, and shē is tōk.  
 1175 *Þe[i]* wēren spūsed fayrē and wēl; [210 b, 1]  
 Þe messe dēdē [and] euēri[lc]dēl  
 Þat fel tō spūsing, a gōd cle[r]k,  
 Þe erchebishop ūth of Yerk,  
 Þat kam tō þe parlement,  
 1180 Als God him hauēde þider sent.

## [IX.]

- Hwan *þe[i]* tōgydēre in Godes lawe  
 [Wēren] þat þe folc it sawe,  
*Þe[i]* ne wisten hwat *þe[i]* mouhten,  
 Ne *þe[i]* ne wisten [h]wat hem douhte;  
 1185 Þēr tō dwellen, or þenne tō gonge,  
 Þēr ne wolden *þe[i]* dwellen lōnge,  
 For *þe[i]* wisten, and ful wēl sowe,  
 Godrich hem hātedē, þe deuēl him howe!  
 And y[i]f *þe[i]* dwelleden þēr ouht, —  
 1190 Þat fel Hauēlok ful wēl on þouht, —  
 Men sholde dōn his leman shāme,  
 Or elles bringen in wicke blāme,  
 Þat wēre him lēuere tō bēn dēd.  
 For-þī *þe[i]* tōken anōþer rēd,  
 1195 Þat þei sholden þenne flē  
 Til Grim, and til hisē sonēs þrē;  
 Þēr wēnden *þe[i]* alþer-best tō spēde[n],  
 Hem fortō clōþe, and for tō fēde[n].  
 Pe lōnd *þe[i]* tōken under fōte,  
 1200 Ne wisten *þe[i]* nōn oþer bōte,  
 And hēlden ay þe rihte [stī]  
 Til *þe[i]* kōmen tō Grimesbȳ.

---

1174 is ] as. 1176 dede Z. ] he deden. 1177 a Z. ] and ||  
 clerk Sk. 1181 weren tog. 1182 folc ful wel. 1188 Godrich  
 Mb. ] þat G. 1201 rihte ] riþe || sti Sk.; a word erased.



- Panne þe[i] kōmen þēre, þanne was Grim dēd,  
 Of him ne hāuēden þe[i] nō rēd;  
 1205 But hise children alle fyue  
 Alle wēren yēt on līue;  
 Pat ful fayre aye[i]n hem nōme,  
 Hwan þe[i] wisten þat þe[i] kōme,  
 And māden ioie swīpe mikel,  
 1210 Ne wēren þe[i] neuere aye[i]n hem fikel.  
 On knēs ful fayre þe[i] hem setten,  
 And Hauelok swīpe fayre gretten,  
 And seyden: Welkome, lōuerd dēre!  
 And welkome bē þi fayre fēre!  
 1215 Blessed bē þat ilke þrawe,  
 Þat þow hire tōke in Godes lawe!  
 Wēl is þus wē sēn þē on līue,  
 Þow mihte us bōpe selle and yiue,  
 Þow may[h]t us bōpe yēue and selle[n],  
 1220 With þat þow wilt hēre dwelle[n]. [210 b, 2]  
 Wē hāuen, lōuerd, alle gōde,  
 Hors, and nēth, and ship on flōde,  
 Góld, and siluer, and michel auchte,  
 Þat Grim ūre fāder us bitawchte.  
 1225 Góld, and siluer, and oþer fē  
 Bad hē us bi-taken þē.  
 Wē hāuen shēp, wē hāuen swīn,  
 Bi-lēue hēr, lōuerd, and al bē þīn!  
 Þō[ū] shalt bēn lōuerd, þow shalt bēn sýre,  
 1230 And wē sholen seruen þē and hire;  
 And hūre sistres sholen dō  
 Al that euere biddeþ shō:  
 Þ[e]i sholen hire clōþes washen and wringen,  
 And tō hōndes wāter bringen;  
 1235 Þ[e]i sholen bedden hire and þē,  
 For lēuēdī wilē wē þat shē bē.

Hwan þe[i] þis ioie hauēden māked,

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1215 þrawe ] a corrected from o. 1233 clōþes G. ] clōþen.

- Sithen stik[k]es brōken and k(r)āked,  
 And þe fīr brouht on [tō] brenne,  
 1240 Ne was þēr spāred gōs ne henne,  
 Ne þe hendē, ne þe drāke,  
 Mēte þe[i] dēden plentē māke;  
 Ne wantede þēre nō gōd mēte,  
 Wȳn and āle dēden þe[i] fēte,  
 1245 And māde hem [ful] glāde and blīpe,  
 Wesseyl þe[i] ledden fēle sīpe.
- On þe niht, als Góldēborw lay,  
 Sōrȳ and sorwful was shē ay,  
 For shē wēnde shē wēre bi-swike,  
 1250 Þat sh[ē w]ēre yēuen un-kýndelike.  
 O niht saw shē þēr-inne a liht,  
 A swīpe fayr, a swīpe bryht,  
 Alsō briht, [and] alsō shīr,  
 Sō it wēre a blāse of fīr.
- 1255 Shē lōkede no[r]þ, and ēk sōuth,  
 And saw it comen ūt of his mōuth,  
 Þat lay bī hire in þe bed:  
 Nō fērlike þou[h] shē wēre adred.  
 Þouhte shē: '[H]wat may this bi-mēne?
- 1260 Hē bēth heyman yēt, als ȳ wēne,  
 Hē bēth heyman ōr hē bē dēd.'  
 On hise shuldre, of góld rēd  
 Shē saw a swīpe nōble croiz,  
 Of an āngel shē herde a uoyz:
- 1265 'Góldēborw, lat þī sorwe bē, [211, 1]  
 For Hauelok, þat hauēþ spūsed þē,  
 Is kinges sonē, and kinges eyr,  
 Pat bikenneth þat croiz sō fayr.  
 It bikenneth þat hē shal

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1239 to *Mb.* 1240 *ye annulled before henne.* 1245 *ful Sk.*  
 1246 *þei ledden ] ledden he.* 1250 *she were Sk.* 1255 *norþ Sk.*  
 1267 *Is Sk.] He.* 1269 *lt Sk.] Iit || more þat.*

- 1270 Denemark hāuēn, and Englónd al;  
 Hē shal bēn king, stróng and stark,  
 Of Englónd and Denemark;  
 Pat shal[t] þū wit[h] þīn eyne sēn,  
 And þō[ū] shalt quēn and lēuēdī bēn.'
- 1275 Þanne shē hauēde herd the steuēne  
 Of þe āngel ūth of heuēne,  
 Shē was sō fēle sīþes blithe,  
 Pat shē ne mihte hire ioie mýthe;  
 But Hauelok sōne anōn shē kiste,
- 1280 And hē slēp, and nouht ne wiste,  
 Hwat þat aungel hauēde seyde.  
 Of his slēp a-nōn hē brayd,  
 And seide: 'Lemman, slēpes[t] þōū?  
 A selkūth drēm drēmede mē nōū.
- 1285 Herkne nōū hwat mē hauēth met:  
 Mē þouhte y was in Denemark set,  
 Būt ōn[e] on þe mōste hil  
 Pat euere yēte kam ī til.  
 It was sō hey, þat y wēl mouhte
- 1290 Al þe werd sē, als mē þouhte.  
 Als ī sat up-on þat lowe,  
 I gan Denemark for tō owe,  
 Þe borwes, and þe castles strónge;  
 And mīne armes wēren sō lónge,
- 1295 That ī fadmede, al at ōnes,  
 Denemark, with mīne lónge bōnes;  
 And þanne y wolde mīne armes drawe  
 Til mē, and [þouhte] hem for tō hāue,  
 Al that euere in Denemark liuēden,
- 1300 On mīne armes faste clyuēden;  
 And þe strónge castles alle

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1273 shal þu *corrected from* shaltu. 1281 Hwat Z. ] Hwan.  
 1287 i *annulled before the first* on || one Wi. 1292 gan ] bigan.  
 1298 hom.

- On knēs bigunnen for tō falle,  
 Þe keyes fellæn at mīne fēt; —  
 Anōþer drēm drēmēde mē [y]ēt:  
 1305 Þat ich fley ouer þe salte sē  
 Til Engeland, and al with mē  
 Þat euere was in Denemark lȳues,  
 But bōndemen, and here wīues,  
 And þat ich kam til Engelond;  
 1310 Al clōsedē it intil mīn hōnd, [211, 2]  
 And, Góldeborw, ȳ gaf [it] þē, —  
 Dēus! lemman, hwat may þis bē?
- Shē answeredē, and seyde sōne:  
 'Iēsus Crīst, þat mādē mōne,  
 1315 Þīne drēmes turnē tō ioie!  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Þat wite þw that sittes[t] in trōne!  
 Ne nōn strōng king, ne caysēre,  
 Sō þōu shalt bē, fo[r] þōu shalt bēre  
 In Engelond corūne yēt;  
 1320 Denemark shal knēle tō þī fēt;  
 Alle þe castles þat āren þer-inne,  
 Shal-tōw, lemman, ful wēl winne.  
 I wōth, sō wēl sō ich it sowe,  
 Tō þē sholē comen heyē and lowe,  
 1325 And alle þat in Denemark wone,  
 Em and brōþer, fāder and sone,  
 Érl and barōūn, dréng an[d] þayn,  
 Kniht and [clerk], bu(r)g̃eys, and sweyn;  
 And māk [þē] king heyelike and wēl,  
 1330 Denemark shal bē þīn euere-ile dēl.  
 Hāue þōu nouht þēr-offe dōuþe,  
 Nouht þe worth of ōne noþe;

- Pēr-offe with-inne þe firste yēr  
 Shalt þōū bēn king, [with-ōuten wēre].  
 1335 But dō nōū als y wile rōthe,  
 Nim [wē s]wīpe tō Denema[r]k bōþe,  
 And dō þōū nouht onfrest þis fāre,  
*Hiht* and selthe felawes āre.  
 For shal ich neuere blīpe bē  
 1340 Til ī with eyen Denemark sē;  
 For ich wōth, þat al þe lōnd  
 Shalt þōū hāuen in þīn hōn[d].  
 Prey Grimes sones alle þrē,  
 That þe[i] wénden forþ with þē;  
 1345 I wōt, þe[i] wilen þē nouht wérne,  
 With þē wénde shulēn þe[i] yérne,  
 For þe[i] louēn þē herte-like,  
 Þōū mayht, *hwil* þe[i] āren quike,  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Hwōre sō þe[i] o werde āren;  
 1350 Here ship þōū dō hem swithe yāren,  
 And lōke þat þōū dwelle nouht:  
 Dwelling hauēth ofte scāþe wrouht.  
 . . . . .  
 Hwan Hauelok herde þat shē radde,  
 Sōne it was day, sōne hē him cladde,  
 1355 And sōne tō þe kirke yēde, [211 b, 1]  
 Or hē didē anī oþer dēde,  
 Bifōr þe rōde bigan [tō] falle,  
 Croiz and Crīst bi[gan] tō kalle,  
 And seyde: 'Lōuerd, þat al wēldes,  
 1360 Wind and wāter, wodes and fēldes,  
 For the hōlī milce of yōū,  
 Hāue *mercī* of mē, lōuerd, nōū!

1334 with-uten were *Sk.* ] of euere-il del. 1336 we swīpe  
*K.* ] in with þe || Denemark *Sk.* 1338 *Hiht* ] *Lith.* 1348 maght ||  
*hwil* ] *til.* 1349 worde. 1351 dwellen. 1357 And bifor. 1358 bi-  
gan *Sk.*

- And wrēke mē yēt on mī fō,  
 Pat ich saw biforn mīn eyne slō  
 1365 Mine sistres, with a knīf,  
 And siþen wolde mē mī lȳf  
 Hāue reft, for in the sē  
 Bad hē Grim hauē drenched mē.  
 Hē [hóldeth] mī lónd with mikel un-riht,  
 1370 With michel wróng, with mikel pliht, —  
 For ine misdēde him neuere nouht, —  
 And haueþ mē tō sorwe brouht.  
 Hē haueth mē dō mī mēte tō þigge[n],  
 And ofte in sorwe and pine ligge[n].  
 1375 Lōuerd, hāue merci of mē,  
 And late [mē] wēl passe þe sē, —  
 Iþc hāue þēr-offe dōuþe and kære, —  
 [And] with-ūten stormes ōuer-fāre,  
 Pat ȳ ne drenched [bē] þēr-in[n]e,  
 1380 Ne forfāre for nō sinne!  
 And bringge mē wēl tō þe lónd,  
 Pat Godard hóldeþ in his hónd;  
 Pat is mī riht, eueri[lc] dēl:  
 Iēsus Crīst, þōū wōst it wēl.  
 1385 Danne hē hauēde his bēde seyð,  
 His offrende on þe auter leyð,  
 His lēue at Iēsus Crīst hē tōk,  
 And at his suēte mōder ōk,  
 And at þe croiz, þat hē bī lay,  
 1390 Siþen yēde sōre grōtende away.

## [X.]

Hwan hē cam hōm, þe[i] wōre yāre,  
 Grimes sones, fortō fāre  
 In-tō þe sē, fishes tō gēte[n],

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1369 holdeth *Wi.* 1372 hauled. 1376 me *Sk.* 1377 Iþc } pat  
 iþc. 1378 And *K.* 1379 be *Sk.* 1380 forfaren. 1389 biforn.

- Pat Hauȝlok mihte wēl of ēte[n].  
 1395 But [H]auȝlok pouhte al anōȝer,  
 First hē ka[l]de ȝe heldeste brōȝer,  
 Roberd ȝe rēde bī his nāme,  
 William Wenduth, and H[ūwe R]āuen,  
 Grimes sones alle ȝrē,  
 1400 And sey[d]e: 'Līȝeȝ nōū tō mē, [211 b, 2]  
 Lōuerdinges, ich wilē yōū schowe  
 A ȝing of mē ȝat yē wēl knowe.  
 Mī fader was king of denshe lōnd,  
 Denemark was al in his hōnd  
 1405 ȝe day ȝat hē was quik and dēd;  
 But ȝanne hāuȝde hē wicke rēd,  
 Pat hē mē, and Denemark al,  
 And mīȝe sistres bi-taw[h]te a ȝral:  
 A deuȝles limē [hē] ȝus bitaw[h]te,  
 1410 And al his lōnd, and al hiȝe auhte.  
 For y saw that fūle fēnd  
 Mīȝe sistres slō with hiȝe hēnd;  
 First hē shar a-twō here ȝrōtes,  
 And siȝen [karf] hem al tō grōtes,  
 1415 And siȝen bad [hē] in ȝe sē  
 Grim, yōūȝe fāder, drenchen mē.  
 Dēplike dēde hē him swēre  
 On bōk, ȝat hē mē sholde bēre  
 Untō ȝe sē, an[d] drenchen in[n]e,  
 1420 And wolde tāken on him ȝe sinne.  
 But Grim was wīs, and swīȝe hēnde,  
 Wolde hē nouht his soule shēnde;  
 Lēuȝere was him tō bē for-swōren,  
 ȝan drenchen mē, and bēn for-lōr[e]n;  
 1425 But sōȝe bigan hē fortō flē  
 Frō Denemark, fortō berpen mē,  
 For yif ich hauȝde ȝēr bēn fūnden,

1396 kalde *Sk.* 1398 Huwe Rauen *Sk.* 1400 seyde *Sk.* || alle  
 to. 1401 sheue. 1402 knewe. 1409 he *Sk.* 1414 karf *Sk.*  
 1415 he *Sk.* 1418 sholde me. 1427 yif *Sk.* ] yis.

- Hauēðe [hē] bēn slayn, or harde būnden,  
 And heyē bēn hinged on a trē,  
 1430 Hauēðe gō for him [nō] góld ne fé.  
 For-þī frō Denemark hider hē fledde,  
 And mē ful fayrē and ful wēl fedde,  
 Sō þat un-tō þis [ilke] day,  
 Hauē ich bēn fed and fostred ay.  
 1435 But nōū ich am up tō þat hēlde  
 Cumen, that ich may wepne wēlde,  
 And y may grēte dintes yiue.  
 Shal ī neuere, hwīl ich lyue,  
 Bēn glad, til that ich Denemark sē;  
 1440 ī preie yōū þat yē wēnde with mē,  
 And ich may māk yōū rīche men,  
 Ilk of yōū shal hāue castles ten,  
 And þe lōnd þat þōr-til lōnges,  
 Borwes, tūnes, wodes and wónges.'

\* \* \*

X [XI.]

\* \* \*

- 1625 With swilk als ich byēn shal: [212, 1]  
 . Pēr-of bi-sēche [y] yōū nōū lēue;  
 Wile ich spēke with nōn oþer rēue,  
 But with yō[u], þat iustise āre,  
 Pat y mihte sellen mī wāre  
 1630 In gōde borwes up and dōūn,  
 And fāren ich wile frō tūn tō tūn.'

- A góld-ring drōw hē forth anōn,  
 An hundred púnd was worth þe stōn,  
 And yaf it Ubbe for tō spēde:  
 1635 Hē was ful wīs þat first yaf mēde!  
 And sō was Hauēlok ful wīs hēre,

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1428 He Z. 1433 ilke Sk. 1626 y Z. 1628 you ] þe || art  
 annulled before iustise. 1629 sellen Sk. ] seken.



Hē sólde his góld-ring ful dēre :  
 Was neuere nōn sō dēre sóld,  
 For chapmen, neyþer yung ne óld;  
 1640 Pat sholēn yē forthward ful wēl lēren,  
 Yif þat yē wilē þe stōriē hēren.

Hwan Ubbe hāuedē þe góld-ring,  
 Hauedē hē yōuēnet for nō þing,  
 Nouht for þe borw euere-il[k] dēl: —  
 1645 Hauelok hi-hél[d] hē swīþe wēl,  
 Hw hē was wēl of bōnes māked,  
 Brōd in þe sholdres, ful wēl schāped,  
 Picke in þe brēst, of bodī lóng;  
 Hē sēmede wēl tō bēn ful stróng.  
 1650 ‘Dēus!’ gwat[h] Ubbe, ‘quī ne wēre hē kniht?  
 I wōth þat hē is swīþe wiht.  
 Betere sēmede him tō bēre  
 Helm on hēued, shēld and spēre,  
 Panne tō byē and selle wāre.  
 1655 Allas! þat hē shal þēr-with fāre.  
 Goddōt, wilē hē trowe mē,  
 Chaffāre shal hē late bē.’

Nēpelēs hē seyde sōne:  
 ‘Hauelok, hāue [þōū] þī bōne,  
 1660 And y ful wēl rēde þ[ē]  
 Pat þōū comē, and ēte with mē  
 Tō-day, þōū, and þī fayre wīf,  
 Pat þōū louest alsō þī lif.  
 And hāue þōū of hire nō drēde,  
 1665 Shal hire nō man shāme bēde.  
 Bī þe fey y owe tō þe,  
 Þerof shal ī mī-self borw bē.’

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1640 sholen *Sk.* ] shoren || heren. 1649 ful ] wel. 1650 hwat.  
 1654 beye. 1659 þou *Sk.* 1660 þe *Sk.* 1666 that y. 1667 me ||  
 self *Z.* ] serf.

Hauðlok hērde þat hē bad,  
 And thow[h] was hē ful sōre drad  
 1670 With him tō ēte, for hisē wīf; [212, 2]  
 For him wōre lēuere þat his līf  
 Him wōre reft, þan shē in blāme  
 Felle, or lauhte anī shāme.

Hwanne hē hauðeð his wille yēt[e],  
 1675 Þat hē onne sat, þe stēde,  
 Smōt Ubbe [þō] with spures faste,  
 And forth away, but at þe laste,  
 Or [þat] hē [auht] frō him ferde,  
 Seyðe hē, þat his folk [it] herde:  
 1680 'Lōke þat yē comen bōþe,  
 For ich it wilē, and ich it rōþe.'

Hauðlok ne durste, þo[uh] hē wēre drad,  
 Nouht with-sittēn þat Ubbe bad;  
 His wīf hē dide with him lēde,  
 1685 Un-tō þe heye cūrt hē y[e]de.  
 Roberd hire ledde, þat was rēd,  
 Þat hau[ed]eð þōlēð for hire þe dēð,  
 Or anī hauedeð hire misseyd,  
 Or hand with iuele onne leyð.  
 1690 Will[i]am Wendut was þat oþer  
 Þat hire ledde, Roberdes brōþer,  
 Þat was wiht at alle nēdes;  
 Wēl is him þat gōd-man fēdes!

Þan þe[i] wēren comen tō þe halle,  
 1695 Bifōren Ubbē, and hisē men alle,  
 Ubbe stirte hem ageyn,  
 And manī a kniht, and manī a sweyn,  
 Hem for tō sē[n], and fortō showe;  
 Pō stōð Hauðlok als a lowe

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1674 yete ] yat. 1675 þe stede þat . . . sat. 1681 rōþe ]  
 rede. 1682 drad *Mb.* ] adrad. 1685 yede *Sk.* 1687 hauede þo-  
 led *Sk.* ] haue þarned.

- 1700 Abouen þat þēr-inne wōre,  
 Riht al bī þe hēued mōre  
 Þanne anī þat þēr-inne stōd:  
 Þō was Ubbe blīþe of mōd,  
 Pat hē saw him sō fayr and hēnde,
- 1705 Frō him ne mihte his herte wēnde,  
 Ne frō him, ne frō his wīf;  
 He louede hem sōne sō his lif.  
 Wēreþ nōn in Denemark, þat him pouhte,  
 Pat hē sō mikel loue mouhte;
- 1710 Mōre hē louede Hauelok ðne,  
 Þan al Denemark, bī mīne wōne!  
 Lōke nōū, hw God helpen kan  
 O manī wīse wīf and man!
- 1715 Hwan it was comen tīme tō ēte,  
 Hiþe wīf dēde Ubbe sōne in fēte, [212 b, 1]  
 And til hire seyde, al on gāmen:  
 ‘Dāme, þōū and Hauelok shuleþ ēte sāmen,  
 And Góldeboru shal ēte wit[h] mē,  
 Pat is sō fayr sō flōur on trē;
- 1720 In al Denemark [n]is wimman  
 Sō fayr sō schē, bī seint Iohan!’
- 1725 Þanne [þei] wēre set, and bórd [was] leyd,  
 And þe beneysūn was seyd,  
 Biforn hem cam þe beste mēte  
 Pat king or cayser wolde ēte;  
 Krānes, swannes, ueneysūn,  
 Lax, lampreys, and gōd sturġ[i]ūn,  
 Pymēt tō drinke, and gōd clarē,  
 Wīn hwīt and rēd, ful gōd plentē.
- 1730 Was þēr-inne nō pāġe sō līte;  
 Pat euere wolde āle bīte.

Of þe mēte fortō telle[n],

- Ne of þe *wīn* bidde ī nou[h]t dwelle[n];  
 Pat is þe stōrię for tō lēnge,  
 1735 It wolde anūyę þis fayre gēnge.
- But hwan þe[i] hauēdeþ þē[r] *ilk þing* de[i]lled,  
 And fēle sīpes hauēdeþ wesseyled,  
 And with gōde drinkes sēten lōnge,  
 And it was tīme for tō gōnge,  
 1740 Il[k] man tō þēr hē cam frō,  
 Pouhte Ubbe: ‘Y[i]f I latę hem gō,  
 Pus ōne fourę, with-ūten mō,  
 Sō mōte ich brōuke finger or tō,  
 For þis wimman bēþ mike[l] wō:  
 1745 For hire shal men hire lōuerd slō.’  
 Hē tōk sōne knihtes tēn,  
 And wel sixti ōþer men,  
 Wit[h] gōde bowes, and with gleiues,  
 And sēnde hem untō þe greyues,  
 1750 Þe beste man of al þe tōūn,  
 Pat was nāmed Bernard Brūn;  
 And bad him, als hē loueþe his lif,  
 Hauelok wēl y[ē]men, and his wīf,  
 And wēl dō wayten al þe niht,  
 1755 Til þe ōþer day, þat it wēre liht.
- Bernard was trewe, and swīþe wiht,  
 In al þe borw ne was nō kniht  
 Pat betere cōūþe on stēde rīdeþ,  
 Helm on hēueþ, ne swērd bī sīde.  
 1760 Hauelok hē gladliķe under-stōd, [212b, 2]  
 With mike[l] loue, and herte gōd,  
 And dide greyþe a sūper rīche,  
 Alsō hē was nō wiht chīnche,  
 Tō his bihōue eneri-l[k] dēl,  
 1765 Pat hē mihte sūpe swīþe wēl.

1733 win *Sk.* ] metes. 1736 þer *ilk þing Sk.* ] þe kiwing? ||  
 deiled *Sk.* 1737 wosseyled. 1749 him. 1753 yemen *Sk.*

## [XII.]

Alsō þe[i] sēten, and sholde sōuþe,  
 Sō comeþ a ladde in a iōuþe,  
 And with him sixtī ōþer strōnge,  
 With swērdes drawen, and k(n)īues lōnge,  
 1770 Ilkan in hande a ful gōd gleiue,  
 And seyde: 'Undō, Bernard þe greyue!  
 Undō swīþe, and latus in,  
 Or þū art dēd, bī seint Austīn!'

Bernard stirt up, þat was ful big,  
 1775 And caste a briniþ up-on his rig,  
 And grōp an ax, þat was ful gōd,  
 Lēp tō þe dōre, sō hē wōre wōd,  
 And seyde: 'Hwat āre yē, þat āre þer-ōute,  
 Pat þus biginnen fortō strōute?  
 1780 Gōth henne swīþe, fūle þēues,  
 For, bī þe lōuerd, man on lēues,  
 Shal ich casten þe dōre ōpen,  
 Summe of yōu shol [sōn] bē drōpen!  
 And þe ōþre shal ich kesten  
 1785 In fetēres, and ful faste festen.'

'Hwat haue yē seid?' quoth a ladde,  
 'Wēnēstū þat wē bēn adradde?  
 Wē shole[n] at þis dōre gōnge,  
 Maugrē þīn, carl, ōr ouht lōnge.'

1790 Þe[i] gripen sōne a bulder-stōn,  
 And lēt it fleye, ful gōd wōn,  
 Age[i]n þe dōre, þat it to-rōf;  
 [H]aue lok it saw, and þider drōf,  
 And þe barre sōne ūt-drōw,  
 1795 Pat was unrīde, and grēt ynōw,

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1776 ax *Sk.* ] ar. 1781 þat man. 1782 Shol. 1783 shal ||  
 be ] ich || dropen *Hu.* ] drepen.

And castę þe dōre ōpen wīde,  
 And seide: 'Hēr shal y nōw abīde.  
 Comeþ swīþe un-tō mē!  
 Datheyt, hwō nōū henne flē!'

- 1800 'Nō', quodh ōn, 'þat shaltōū coupe!  
 And bigan til him tō loupe,  
 In his hōnd [h]is swērd ūt-drawe,  
 Hauelok hē wēnde þōrę hauę slawe;  
 And with [him] cōmen ōþer twō,  
 1805 Þat him wolde of liue hauę dō. [213, 1]

- Hauelok lifte up þe dōre-trē,  
 And at a dint hē slōw hem prē;  
 Was nōn of hem þat hise hērnas  
 Ne lay þēr-ūte ageyn þe stērnas.  
 1810 Þe fērþe þat hē siþen mette,  
 Wit[h] þe barre sō hē him grette,  
 Bifōr þe hēuēd; þat þe riht eye  
 Ūt of þe hōle mādę hē fleye,  
 And siþe claptę him on þe crūne,  
 1815 Sō þat hē stan-dēd fel þōr dūne.  
 Þe fifte þat hē ōuer-tōk,  
 Gaf hē a ful sōr dint ōk,  
 Bitwēn þe sholdres, þēr hē stōd,  
 Pat hē spen[dę] his herte-blōd.  
 1820 Þe sixte wēnde for tō flē,  
 And hē claptę him with þe trē  
 Riht in þe fūle necke sō,  
 Pat hē smōt hise necke on t[w]ō.  
 Panne þe sixe wēren feld,  
 1825 Þe seuene brayd ūt his swērd,  
 And wolde Hauelok riht in the eye;  
 And Hauę[lok] lē[t þe] barre fleye,  
 And smōt him sōne ageyn þe brēst:

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1798 me *Sk.*] me datheit. 1799 nou *Z.*] you. 1804 him *Sk.*  
 1824 feld ] doun feld. 1827 Hauelok let þe *Sk.*

- Hauēðe hē neuere sch[r]ifte of prēst;  
 1830 For hē was dēd on lesse hwīle,  
 Pan men mouhte renne a mīle.  
 Alle þe oþere wēren ful kēne,  
 A rēd þei tōken hem bi-twēne,  
 Pat þe[i] sholde[n] him bi-halue,  
 1835 And brīsen sō, þat wit[h] nō salue  
 Ne sholde him hēlen lēche nōn:  
 Pey drōwen ūt swērdes, ful gōd wōn,  
 And shōten on him, sō dōn on bēre  
 Dogges, þat wolden him to-tēre,  
 1840 Panne men dōth þe bēre beyte:  
 Pe laddes wēre kaskē and tēyte,  
 And um-bi-yēden him ilkōn,  
 Sum smōt with trē, and sum wit[h] stōn,  
 Summe putten with gleyue, in bac and sīde,  
 1845 And yēuen wūndes lóngē and wīde;  
 In twentī stēdes, and wel mō,  
 Frō þe crōune til the tō.  
  
 Hwan hē saw þat, hē was wōd,  
 And was it fērlik, h̄w hē stōd,  
 1850 For the blōd ran of his sīdes, [213, 2]  
 Sō wāter frō þe welle glīdes;  
 But panne bigan hē for tō mowe[n]  
 With the barre, and lēt hem showe[n],  
 H̄w he cōwþe sōre smīte.  
 1855 For was þēr nōn, lóng ne līte,  
 Pat hē mouhte ouer-tāke,  
 Pat hē ne garte his crōune krāke;  
 Sō þat on a lītel stúnd,  
 Felde hē twentī tō þe grúnd.  
  
 1860 Dō bigan grēt dīnē tō rīse,  
 For þe laddes on ilke wīse

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1829 þat hauede || schrifte *Sk.* 1833 token ] taken. 1851 þat fro.  
 1854 scholde *annulled before* cowþe.

Him asaylēðen wit[h] grēte dintes,  
 Ful fer þe[i] stōden, *and* with flintes  
 And gleyues schōten him frō ferne,  
 1865 For drēpen him þe[i] wolden yérne;  
 But durstēn þe[i] newhen him nō mōre,  
 Panne hē bōr or lēūn wōre.

Hūwe Rāuen þat dinē herde,  
 And þowhte wēl þat men mis-ferde  
 1870 With his lōuerd, for his wīf,  
 And grōp an ōre, and a lóng knīf,  
 And þider drōf al sō an hert,  
 And cham þēr on a lītel stert,  
 And saw hōw [al] þe laddes wōde  
 1875 Hauelok his lōuerd umbistōde,  
 And bēten on him sō dōth þe smith  
 With þe hāmer on þe stith.

‘Allas’, gwat[h] H[ū]wē, ‘þat y was boren!  
 Pat euere ēt ich brēd of koren!  
 1880 Pat ich hēre þis sorwe sē!  
 Roberd! Will[i]am! hwōre ār yē?  
 Griþeth e[y]þer unker a gōd trē,  
 And late wē nouht þise dog[g]es flē,  
 Til ūre lōuerd wrēke [bē]!  
 1885 Cometh swīþe, and folweþ mē!  
 Ich hāue in hōnde a ful gōd ōre:  
 Datheit [h]wō [nū] ne smīte sōre!’

‘Yā, lēue, yā’, quod Roberd sōne,  
 ‘Wē hāueþ ful gōd liht of þe mōne.’  
 1890 Hē grōp a staf, [ful] stróng and grēt,  
 Pat mouhte ful wēl bēre a nēt,  
 And Will[i]am Wendut grōp a trē  
 Mikel grettere þan his þē,

---

1863 Ful ] Fro || and Z. ] him. 1878 hwat. 1884 be *St.*, Z  
 1889 ilith *ms.* 1890 He ] Roberd. 1893 þe *Sk.* ] þre.



- And Bernard héld his ax ful faste;  
 1895 *I* seye, was hē nouht þe laste; [213 b, 1]  
 And lōpen forth sō þe[i] wēreþ wōde  
 Tō þe laddes, þēr þe[i] stōde,  
 And yaf hem wūndes swīþe grēte;  
 Pēr mihtē men wēl sē boyes bēte,  
 1900 And ribbes in herē sīdes brēke[n],  
 And Hauelok on hem wēl wrēke[n].  
 Þe[i] brōken armes, þe[i] brōken knēs,  
 Þe[i] brōken shankes, þe[i] brōken thēs.  
 Þe[i] didē þe blōde þērē renne dūne  
 1905 Tō þe fēt riht frō the crūne,  
 For was þēr spāred hēued nōn:  
 Þe[i] leyden on hēuēdes, ful gōd wōn,  
 And māde crōune[s] brēke and crāke,  
 Of þe brōune, and of þe blāke;  
 1910 Þe[i] mādeþ herē backes al sō bloute  
 Als he[rē] wōmbes, and māde hem rowte  
 Als þe[i] wēren krādelbarnes:  
 Sō dōþ þe child þat mōder þarnes.
- Dapeit** [h]pō reckē! for þe[i] it seruedē,  
 1915 [For] hwat þe[i] didē þōrē wēren þe[i] werewed;  
 Sō lōnge hauēden þe[i] but and bet,  
 With nēues under hērnēs set,  
 Pat of þō sixtī men and ōn  
 Ne wentē away þēr liues nōn.

## [XIII.]

- 1920 On þe morweþ, hwan it was day,  
 Ilc on ōther wirwed lay,  
 Als it wēre dogges þat wēren henged,  
 And summe leyē in dīkes slenged,  
 And summe in gripes bī þe hēr

---

1908 crounes *Sk.* 1911 here *Sk.* 1914 wo *Sk.* ] we. 1915 Hwat  
 dide he. 1919 away þer ] þer away. 1920 hwan *Sk.* ] hhan.

1925 Drawen wōre, and laten thēr.

Skēt cam tīding intil Ubbe,  
 Pat Hauēlok hauēde with a clubbe  
 Of hise slawen sixtī and ōn  
 Serġaunz, þe bestē þat mihten gōn.

1930 'Dēus', quoth Ubbe, 'hwat may þis bē?  
 Betere þis, īnime mīself and sē

† Pat þis baret on hwat is wōld,  
 Pannē ī sēnde yunge or ōld.  
 For .yif ī sēnde him un-tō,

1935 Ī wēne men sholde him shāme dō,  
 And þat ne wolde ich for nō þing:  
 Ī loue him wēl, bī heuene-king!

Me wōre lēuere ī wōre lāme,  
 Pannē men dide him anī shāme,

1940 Or tōk, or onne handes leyde, [213 b, 2]  
 Un-ornelike, or fāme seyde.'

Hē lēp up-on a stēde liht,  
 And with him manī a nōble kniht,  
 And ferde forth un-tō þe tūn,

1945 And dide calle Bernard Brūn  
 Ūt of his hūs, [h]wan hē þēr cam;  
 And Bernard sōne ageyn [him] nam,  
 Al to-tūsed and al to-torn,

Nēr alsō nāked sō hē was born,

1950 And al to-brīsed, bac and þē.

Quoth Ubbe: 'Bernard, hwat is þē?  
 Hwō haueþ þē þus ille mākēd,  
 Þus to-riuēn, and al mād nāked?'

'Lōuerd, mercī!' quot[h] hē sōne,

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1941 ornelike *Sk.* ] ornelske || same. 1947 him *Sk.* 1954 Lo-  
 uerd *Sk.* ] Iouerd.

- 1955 'Tō-nicht[e], alsō rōs þe mōne,  
Cōmen hēr mō þan sixtī þēues,  
With lōkene cōpes, and wīde slēues,  
Mē fortō robben, and tō pīne,  
And for tō drēpe mē and mīne.
- 1960 Mī dōre þe[i] brōken up ful skēt,  
And wolde mē binden hēnd and fēt.  
[H]wan þe gōdemen þat sowe,  
Hauelok, and þe[i] þat bī þe wowe  
Leye, þe[i] stirtēn up sōne on-ōn,
- 1965 And summe grōp trē, and sum grōp stōn,  
And driue[n] hem ūt, þou[h] þe[i] wēren crūs,  
Sō dogges ūt of milne-hōūs.  
Hauelok grōp þe dōre-trē,  
And [at] a dint hē slōw hem thrē.
- 1970 Hē is þe beste man at nēde,  
Pat euere mōr shal rīde [on] stēde;  
Als helpe God, bī mīne wōne,  
A þhōusend men his hē worth ōne!  
Yif hē ne wēre, ich wēre nōū dēd,
- 1975 Sō hauē ich dōn mī soule rēd;  
But it is hof him mikel sinne;  
Þe[i] mādēn him swilke wóundes þrinne,  
Pat of þe alþer-lēste wóunde  
Wēre a stēde brouht tō grūnde.
- 1980 He hāueþ a wúnde in the sīde,  
With a gleyue, ful un-rīde,  
And hē hāueþ ōn þoru his arum,  
Þēr-of is [him] ful mikel harum,  
And hē hāueþ ōn þoru his þhē, [214, 1]
- 1985 Þe un-rīdeste þat men may sē,  
And oþe[r] wúndes hāueþ hē strónge,  
Mō than twentī swīpe lónge.  
But siþen hē hauēde lauht þe sōr  
Of þe wúndes, was neuere bōr

- 1990    Pat sō fauht sō hē fauht panne:  
          Was nōn þat hauðe þe hērn[e]-panne  
          Sō hard, þat hē ne dēðe alto-crusshe[n],  
          And alto-shiuere, and alto-frusshe[n].  
          He folweð hem sō hūnd dōþ hāre,
- 1995    Daþeyt [þat] ōn he[m] wolde spāre,  
          Pat [hē] ne mādē hem euērilk ōn  
          Liġġe stille sō dōth þe stōn!  
          And þēr nis hē nouht tō frie,  
          For ōþer sholdē hē mākē hem lȳe
- 2000    Dēd, or þei him hauðe slawen,  
          Or alto-hewen, or al to-drawen.
- Lōuerd, hāuī nō mōre pliht  
          Of þat ich was þus gre[i]þeð tō-niht.  
          Þus wolde þe thēues mē hauē reft;  
          2005    God þank! þe[i] hauenet sūre[ly] left.  
          But it is of him mikel scāþe:  
          I wōth þat hē bēþ dēd ful rāþe.’
- Quoth Ubbe: ‘Bernard, seyst þōū sōth?’  
          ‘Yā, sīre, that īne leye [men w]ōth.  
          2010    Yif y, lōuerd, a wōrd leye,  
          Tō-morwen dō mē hengen heye!’
- Þe burġeys þat þēr-bī stōðe þōre,  
          Grundlike and grēte ōþes swōre,  
          Lītle and mīkle, yunge and hōlde,  
          2015    Pat was sōth, þat Bernard tōlde.  
          Sōth was, þat þe[i] wolden him býnde[n],  
          And trusse al þat þe[i] mihten fýnde[n]  
          Of hiðe, in arke or in kiste,  
          Pat hē mouhte in seckes þriste.
- 2020    ‘Lōuerd, away þe[i] hauēden al born

---

1992 cruhsse. 1996 he *Sk.* 2003 greiþed *St.* 2005 But god ||  
 keft. 2009 leye ] lepe. 2020 he haueden al away *ms.*

His þing, and [ēk] him-self to-torn,  
But als[ō] God self barw him wēl,  
Pat hē ne tinte nō catēl.

2025 Hwō mihte sō manī stōnde ageyn,  
Bī nihter-tāle, kniht or swein?

*De[i]* wēren bī tāle *fifti* and tēn,  
Starke laddes, stalworþī men,  
And ōn, þe mayster of hem alle,  
Pat was þe nāme G[r]iffin Galle.

2030 Hwō mouhte agey[n] sō manī stōnde, [214, 2]  
But als þis man of ferne lōnde  
Hauēth hem slawen with a trē?  
Mikel ioie hāue hē!

2035 God yēue him mikel gōd tō wēlde,  
Bōþe in tūn, and ēk in fēlde!  
Wē[l] is set [þe] mēte hē ēteþ.’

Quoth Ubbe: ‘Dōth him swiþe fēte[n],  
Pat y mouhte his wóundes sē[n],  
Y[i]f that *þe[i]* mouhten hēled bē[n].

2040 For y[i]f hē mouhte couere yēt,  
And gangen wēl up-on hisē fēt,  
Mī-self shal dubbe[n] him tō kniht,  
For-þī pat hē is [man] sō wiht.

2045 And yif *þe[i]* liuēde, þō foule þēues,  
Pat wēren of Kaym[es] kin and Eues,  
*De[i]* sholden hange bī þe necke;  
Of here dēd dapeit [h]wō reckel!

Hwan *þe[i]* yēden þus on nihtes  
Tō binde bōþe burgmen and knihtes.  
2050 For býnderes louē ich neuere mō,  
Of hem ne yēue ich nouht a slō.’

**H**auelok was bifōre Ubbe browht,  
Pat hāuēde for him ful mikel pouht,

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2021 self al. 2026 *fifti*] *sixti*. 2029 Griffin *Sk.* 2030 ageyn  
*Sk.* 2036 Wel *Sk.* || he etes mete. 2039 heled *Sk.*] holed.

- And mikel sorwe in his herte  
 2055 For hisē wúndes, þat wē[rē] sō smerte.  
 But hwan his wúndes wēren shewed,  
 And a lēche hauēde knowen,  
 Pat hē hem mouhte ful wēl hēle,  
 Wēl mākē him gange, and ful wēl mēle,  
 2060 And wēl a palefrey bistrīde[n],  
 And wēl up-on a stēde rīde[n],  
 Pō lēt Ubbe al his cāre  
 And al his sorwe ōuer-fāre;  
 And seyde: 'Cum nōw forth with mē,  
 2065 And Góldeboru, þī wīf, with þē,  
 And þīne seriaunz al[le] þrē,  
 For nōū wilē y yōūre warant bē;  
 Wilē y nōn of here frēnd  
 Pat þū slōwe with þīn hēnd  
 2070 Mouc[h]te wayte þē [tō] slō,  
 Alsō þōū gange tō and frō.  
 I shal lēne þē a bōwr,  
 Pat is up in þe heye tōur,  
 Til þōū mōwe ful wēl gō,  
 2075 And wēl bēn hōl of al þī wō. [214b, 1]  
 It ne shal nō þing bitwēne  
 Þī bōūr and mīn [bēn], als y wēne,  
 But a fayr firrenē wowe;  
 Spēkē y lōūde, or spēk y lowe,  
 2080 Þōū shalt ful wēl hēren mē,  
 And þan þū wilt, þōū shalt mē sē.  
 A rōf shal hile us bōþe o-niht,  
 Pat nōnē of mīne, clerk ne kniht,  
 Ne sholeþ þī wīf nō shāme bēde,  
 2085 Nō mōrē þan mīn, sō God mē rēde!'

2055 were *Sk.* 2056 shewed. 2057 knawed. 2070 to *Sk.*  
 2076 ben bitwene. 2077 also. 2080 shalt *Sk.* ] sahalt. 2084 beden *ms.*

## [XIV.]

- Hē dide un-tō þe borw bringe  
 Sōne anōn, al with ioy[i]nge,  
 His wif, and [ēk] his serġanz þrē,  
 Pe beste men þat mouhte bē.  
 2090 Pe firste niht hē lay þēr-inne,  
 Hisē wif, and [ēk] his serġanz þrinne,  
 Abōute þe middel of þe niht  
 Wōk Ubbe, and saw a mikel liht  
 In þe bōur þar Havelok lay,  
 2095 Alsō briht sō it wēre day.

- ‘Dēus’, quoth Ubbe, ‘hwat may þis bē?  
 Betere is i gō mīself, and sē:  
 Hweþer þe[i] sitten nōū, and wesseylen,  
 Or of anī shotshipe to-deyle[n],  
 2100 Þis tīd nihtes, alsō fōles;  
 Pan birde men casten hem in pōles,  
 Or in a grip, or in þe fen:  
 Nōū ne sitten nōne but wicke men,  
 Glotūns, rēu[ē]res, or wicke þēues,  
 2105 Bī Crīst, þat alle folk onne lēues!’

- Hē stōd, and toteþe in at a bōrd,  
 Her ne spak anī [ōn]lēpī wōrd,  
 And saw hem slēpen faste ilkōn,  
 And lye stille sō þe stōn;  
 2110 And saw [þat] al þat mikel liht  
 Frō Hauelok cam, þat was sō briht.  
 Of his mōuth it cam il[c] dēl,  
 Þat was hē war ful swīpe wēl.

- ‘Dēus’, quoth hē, ‘hwat may þis mēne?’  
 2115 He calde bōþe arwe men and kēne,

2094 þar ] þat. 2096 may þis be *on eras.* 2099 sot *Wū.* ]  
 shot. 2101 birþe. 2104 reueres *Sk.* 2106 borȝrd *ms.* 2107 ne ]  
 he. 2110 þat *Wū.*

Knihtes and serġanz swīþe sleie,  
 Mō þan a hundred, with-ūten leye,  
 And bad hem alle comen and sē[n],  
 Hwat þat selcūth mihte bē[n].

- 2120 Als þe knihtes wēre comen alle, [214b, 2]  
 Pēr Hauþlok lay, ūt of þe halle,  
 Sō stōd ūt of his mōūth a glēm,  
 Riht al swilk sō þe sunne-bēm;  
 Pat al sō liht wa[s] þare, bī heuene,  
 2125 Sō pēr brenden serġes seuene,  
 And an hundred torches ōk:  
 Pat durstē hī swēren on a bōk.  
 Ðe[i] slēpen faste alle fīue,  
 Sō Ðe[i] wēren brouht of hīue;  
 2130 And Hauþlok lay on his lift sīde,  
 In his armes his brihte brīde.  
 Bī þe pappes Ðe[i] leyen nāked:  
 Sō faire twō wēren neuere māked  
 In a bed tō lȳen sāmen:  
 2135 Þe knihtes þouht of hem gōd gāmen,  
 Hem fortō shewe, and lōken tō.  
 Riht als Ðe[i] stōden alle sō,  
 And his bac was tōward hem went,  
 Sō wēren Ðe[i] war of a croiz ful ġent,  
 2140 On his riht shuldre sw[īþ]e briht,  
 Brichter þan gōld ageyn þe liht.  
 Sō þat Ðe[i] wiste, heye and lowe,  
 Pat it was kyn[me]rk þat Ðe[i] sowe.  
 It sparkede, and ful briht[e] shōn,  
 2145 So dōth þe gōde charbucle-stōn,  
 Pat men mouhte bȳ þe liht  
 A penī chēsen, sō was it briht.  
 Þanne bihēlden Ðe[i] him faste,

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2124 was *Sk.* 2126 torches ] serges. 2137 als ] also. 2138 wend. 2140 swīþe *Sk.* 2141 Brichter. 2143 kynmerk *St.* ] kunrik. 2144 brithe *Z.* 2146 by *Z.* ] se by.



- 2150 Sō þat þe[i] knewen at þe laste,  
 Pat hē was Birkabeynes sone,  
 Pat was herē king, þat was hem wone  
 Wēl tō yēme[n], and wēl wēre  
 Ageynes ūten-laddes hēre.  
 'For it was neuere yēt a brōþer  
 2155 In al Denemark sō lich anōþer,  
 Sō þis man, þat is sō fayr,  
 Is Birkabeyn; hē is hisē eyr.'
- Þe[i] fellen sōne at hisē fēt,  
 Was nōn of hem þat hē ne grēt,  
 2160 Of ioie þe[i] wēren alle sō fawen,  
 Sō þe[i] him hauēden of érpe drawen.  
 Hisē fēt þe[i] kistēn an hundred sýþes,  
 Þe tōs, þe nayles, and þe lithes,  
 Sō þat hē bigan to wakne[n],  
 2165 And wit[h] hem ful sōrē tō blakne[n], [215, 1]  
 For hē wēnde þe[i] wolden him slō,  
 Or elles bīnde him, and dō wō.
- Quoth Ubbe: 'Lōuerd, ne drēd þē nowht,  
 Mē pinkeþ that I sē þī þouth.  
 2170 Dēre sone, wēl is mē,  
 Pat y þē with eyn[e] sē.  
 Man-rēd, lōuerd, bēde y þē,  
 Þī man auht ī ful wēl tō bē,  
 For þū art comen of Birkabeyn,  
 2175 Pat hauēde manī kniht and sweyn;  
 And sō shalt þōū, lōuerd, hāue,  
 Pou[h] þū bē yēt a ful yung knāue.  
 Þōū shalt bē king of al Denemark,  
 Was þer-inne neuere nōn sō stark.  
 2180 Tō-morwen shaltū manrēde tāke

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2157 Is Z. ] Als. 2164 wakene ms. Here follows the catch-word: And wit hem. 2171 eyne Sk.

- Of þe brūne and of þe blāke;  
 Of alle þat āren in þis tūn,  
 Bōþe of érl, and of barūn,  
 And of dréng, and of thayn,  
 2185 And of kniht, and of sweyn.  
 And sō shaltū bēn mād kniht  
 Wit[h] blisse, for þōū art sō wiht.'

## [XV.]

- Ðō was Hauelok swīþe bliþe,  
 And þankede God ful fēle sīþe.  
 2190 On þe morweþ, [h]wan it was liht,  
 And gōn was þisternesþe of þe niht,  
 Ubbe dide up-on a stēde  
 A ladde lēþe, and þider bēde  
 Érles, barōūns, drénges, theynes,  
 2195 Klerkes, knihtes, bu[r]ǵeys, sweynes,  
 Þat þe[i] sholden comen a-nōn,  
 Biþōren him sōne euerilkōn,  
 Alsō þe[i] loue[de]n herē liues,  
 And here children, and herē wīues.  
 2200 Hiþe bōde ne durste he[r]e nōn at-sitte[n],  
 Þat hē ne nōme for tō wite[n]  
 Sōne, hwat wolde þe iustise:  
 And [hē] bigan anōn tō rise,  
 And seyde sōne: 'Liþeþ mē,  
 2205 Alle sāmen, þeu and frē!  
 A þing ich wile yōū hēre shouwe[n],  
 Þat yē alle ful wēl knowe[n].  
 Yē witen wēl, þat al þis lōnd  
 Was in Birkabeynes hōnd,  
 2210 Þe day þat hē was quic and dēd; [215, 2]  
 And hōw þat hē, bi yōūre rēd,

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2195 burgeys *Sk.* 2198 loueden *Z.* 2201 nome ] *meme ms.*,  
 neme *Sk.* 2203 he *Sk.* 2207 ye *Sk.* ] *he.*

Bitauhte hise children þrē  
 Godard tō yēmę, and al his fē:  
 Hauęlok his sonę hē him [bi]tauhte,  
 2215 And hise twō douhtres, and his auhte.  
 Alle herden yē him swēre  
 On bōk[e], and on messe-gēre,  
 Pat hē shulde yēmę hem wēl,  
 With-ūten lac, with-ūten tēl.

2220 He lēt his ōth al ōuer-gō,  
 Euere wurþe him yuēl and wō!  
 For þe maydnes here lif  
 Reftę hē bōþen, with a knīf,  
 And him shulde ōk haue slawen, —  
 2225 Þe knīf was at his herte drawen, —  
 But God him wolde wēl hauę sāue,  
 He hauęde reunesse of þe knāue,  
 Sō þat hē with his [owen] hénd  
 Ne drōp him nouht, þat sōr[ī] fēnd,  
 2230 But sōne dide hē a fishere  
 Swīþe grēte ōþes swēre,  
 Pat hē sholde drenchen him  
 In þe sē, þat was ful brim.

Hwan Grim saw þat hē was sō fayr,  
 2235 And wistę hē was þe riht[e] eir,  
 Frō Denemark ful sōne hē fledde  
 In-til Englónd, and þēr him fedde  
 Manī winter, þat til þis day  
 Hauęþ hē bēn fed and fostred ay.  
 2240 Lōkeþ, hware hē stóndeþ hēr:  
 In al þis werd ne hāueþ hē pēr;  
 [Nis] nōn sō fayr, ne nōn sō lóng,  
 Ne nōn sō mikel, ne nōn sō strómg.  
 In þis middelérð nis nō kniht

2214 bitauhte *Sk.* 2215 and al his. 2226 wolde *repeated*  
*and annulled.* 2228 owen *Hu.* 2229 sori *Sk.*

Holthausen, Havelok.

2245 Half sō stróng, ne half sō wiht.  
 Bēþ of him ful glad and bliþe,  
 And cometh alle hider swiþe,  
 Manrēde yōure lōuerd fortō māke,  
 Bōþe brūne and þe blāke!

2250 I shal mī-self dō first þe gāmen,  
 And yē siþen alle sāmen.'

0 knēs ful fayre hē him sette, —  
 Mouhte nōþing him þēr-frō lette, —  
 And bi-cam [h]is man riht þōre,  
 2255 Pat alle sowen þat þēre wōre. [215 b, 1]

After him stirt up laddes tēn,  
 And bi-cōmen hise men;  
 And siþen euērik a barōūn,  
 Pat euere wēren in al that tōūn;  
 2260 And siþen drénges, and siþen thaynes,  
 And siþen knihtes, and siþen sweynes;  
 Sō þat, or þat day was gōn,  
 In al þe tūn ne was nouht ōn  
 Pat [hē] ne was his man bicomen:  
 2265 Manrēde of alle hauēde hē nomen.

Hwan hē hauēde of hem alle  
 Manrēde tāken, in the halle,  
 Grundlike dide hē hem swēre[n],  
 Pat þe[i] sholden him gōd feyth bēre[n]  
 2270 Ageynes alle þat wōren on liue;  
 Þēr-ye[i]n ne wolde neuēr ōn strīue,  
 Pat þe[i] ne māden sōne þat ōth,  
 Rīche and pōure, lēf and lōth.

Hwan þat was māked, sōne hē sēnde,  
 2275 Ubbe, writes fer and hēnde,

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2257 *A word added, in a later hand, after men, apparently*  
 beye. 2264 he ] it.

- After alle þat castel[s] yemede,  
 Burwes, tūnes, sibbe an[d] fremde,  
 Þat þider sholden comen swiþe  
 Til him, and hēreṇ tīpandes bliþe,  
 2280 Þat hē hem alle shulde telle[n]:  
 Of hem ne wolde neuere on dwelle[n],  
 Pat hē ne cōme sōne plattende;  
 Hwō hors ne hāuēde, cam gangende.  
 Sō þat with-inne a fourteniht,  
 2285 In al Denemark ne was nō kniht,  
 Ne conestāble, ne shirēue,  
 Pat cam of Adam and of Eue,  
 Pat hē ne cam biforn sīre Ubbe:  
 De[i] dredden him sō þhēf dōth clubbe.
- 2290 Hwan þe[i] hauēden þe king [i]gret,  
 And þe[i] wēren alle set,  
 Pō seyde Ubbe: 'Lōkeþ hēre,  
 Ūre lōnerd swiþe dēre,  
 Pat shal bēn king of al þe lōnd,  
 2295 And hāue us alle under hōnd!  
 For hē is Birkabeynes sone,  
 Pe king þat was umbe stó[ú]nde wone  
 [Us] for tō yēme[n] and wēl wēre,  
 Wit[h] sharp[e] swērd, and lōnge spēre.  
 2300 Lōkeþ nōū, hw hē is fayr! [215b, 2]  
 Sikerlike, hē is hisē eyr.  
 Falleþ alle tō hisē fēt,  
 Bicomeþ hise men ful skēt!
- 2305 Þe[i] wēreṇ for Ubbe swiþe adrad,  
 And dide sōne al þat hē bad,  
 And yēt þe[i] dēden sumdēl mōre,  
 O bōk ful grundlike þe[i] swōre,  
 Pat þe[i] sholde with him hólde

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2289 þhes. 2290 þe ] alle þe. 2291 set ] dun set. 2299  
 sharpe Sk. 2306 þei deden Mb. ] deden he.

- Bōþe ageynes stille and (b)ólde,  
 2310 Pat euere wo[l]de his bodi dēre[n].  
 Pat dide [hē] hem o bōke swēre[n].
- Hwan hē hauede manrēde and oth  
 Tāken of lēf and [ēk] of lōth,  
 Ubbe dubbede him tō kniht,  
 2315 With a swérd ful swīþe briht,  
 And þe folk of al þe lōnd  
 Bitauhte him al in his hōnd,  
 Þe kinn[e]rīche euēril[c] dēl,  
 And mādē him king heylike and wēl.
- 2320 Hwan hē was king, þēr mouhte men sē[n]  
 Þe mōste ioie þat mouhte bē[n]:  
 Buttinge with sharpe spēres,  
 Skirming with taleuaces, þat men bēres,  
 Wrastling with laddes, putting of stōn,  
 2325 Harping and pīping, ful gōd wōn,  
 Leyk of mīne, of hasard ōk,  
 Romanz-rēding on þe bōk;  
 Þēr mouhte men hēre þe ġēstes singe[n],  
 Þe gley-men on þe tābōūr dinge[n];  
 2330 Þēr mouhte men sē þe bōles beyte,  
 And þe bōres, with hūndes teyte;  
 Þō mouhte men sē euēril[c] gleu,  
 Þēr mouhte men sē hw glam greu;  
 Was neuere yēte ioie mōre  
 2335 In al þis werd, þan þō was þōre.  
 Þēr was sō mīke[l] yift of clōþes,  
 Pat þou[h] ī swōre yōū grēte othes,  
 ī ne wōre nouht þēr-offe trōd:  
 Pat may ī ful wēl swēre, bī God!  
 2340 Þēre was swīþe gōde mētes,  
 And of wȳn, þat men fer fētes,

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2310 wolde *Sk.* 2311 he *Sk.* 2333 glam ] grim. 2338 trod ]  
troud.

Riht al sō mik[el] and grēt plentē,  
Sō it wēre wāter of þe sē.

- Pe fēste fourti dawes sat,  
2345 Sō riče was neuere nōn sō þat. [216, 1]  
Pe king mādē Roberd þere kniht,  
Pat was ful stróng, and [ēk] ful wiht,  
And Will[i]am Wendut hēc, his brōþer,  
And H(ū)we Rāuēn, þat was þat oþer,  
2350 And mādē hem barōūns alle þrē,  
And yaf hem lónd, and oþer fē,  
Sō mikel, þat ilker twent[ī] kni(h)tes  
Hāuēde of génge, dayes and nihtes.

- Hwan þat fēste was al dōn,  
2355 A thūsend knihtes wēl o bōn  
With-héld þe king, with him tō lēde;  
Pat ilkan hāuēde ful gōd stēde,  
Helm, and shéld, and briniē briht,  
And al þe wepne þat fel tō kniht.  
2360 With hem fiue thūsend gōde  
Serġaunz, þat wēren tō fyht[e] wōde,  
With-héld hē [þēr] al of his génge:  
Wile I namōre þe stōriē lēnge.

- Yēt hwan hē hāuēde of al þe lónd  
2365 Pe casteles alle in his hónd,  
And conestābles dōn þēr-inne,  
Hē swōr, hē ne sholde neuer blinne,  
Til þat hē wēre of Godard wrēken,  
Pat ich hauē of ofte spēken.  
2370 Hal[f] hundred knihtes dēde hē calle,  
And hisē fīf thūsend serġaunz alle,  
And didē [hem] swēren on the bōk  
Sōne, and on þe auter ōk,

- 2375 Pat þe[i] ne sholde neuere blinne,  
 Ne for loue, ne for sinne,  
 Til þat þe[i] haueden Godard fūnde[n],  
 And brouht biforn him faste būnde[n].

## [XVI.]

- 2375* Danne þe[i] haueden swor[n] þis ōth,  
 Ne lēteþ þe[i] nouht for lēf ne lōth,  
 Pat þe[i] ne fōren swīpe rāthe,  
 Pēr hē was, untō þe pāþe,  
 Pēr hē yēt on hunting fōr,  
 With mikel géngē, and swīpe stōr.

- 2385 Robert, þat was of al þe fērd  
 Mayster, was girt wit[h] a swērd,  
 And sat up-on a ful gōd stēde,  
 Pat under him riht wolde wēde;  
 Hē was þe firste þat with Godard  
 Spak, and seyde: 'Hēde, cauenard!  
 2390 [H]wat dōs[t] þū hēre at þis pāþe? [216, 2]  
 Cum tō þe king, [ful] swīpe and rāþe!  
 Pat sēndeþ hē þē wórd, and bēdes  
 Pat þū þenke hwat þū him dēdes,  
 Hwan þū reftes[t] with a knīf  
 2395 Hise sistres here lif,  
 An[d] siþen bēdeþ þū in þe sē  
 Drenchen him, þat herde hē.  
 Hē is tō þē swīpe grim:  
 Cum nū swīpe un-tō him,  
 2400 Pat king is of þis kinerike,  
 Pū fūle man, þū wicke swike!  
 And hē shal yelde þē þī mēde,  
 Bī Crīst þat wolde on rōde blēde!'

Hwan Godard herde þat [hē] pēr þrette,



- 2405 With þe nēuē hē Robert sette  
 Biform þe tēth a dint ful stróng.  
 Robert kipt up a knīf [wel] lōng,  
 And smōt him þoru þe riht[e] arum:  
 Pēr-of was [him] ful litel harum.
- 2410 Hwan his folk þat sau and herde,  
 Hwōū Robert with here lōuerd ferde,  
 Ðe[i] hauēðen him wel nēr brow[h]t of liue,  
 Ne wēren his brēþren and ōpre fiue,  
 [Þat] slōwen of here laddes tēn,
- 2415 Of Godardes alþer-beste men.
- Hwan þe ōpre sowen þat, Ðe[i] fleddeñ,  
 And Godard swīþe lōūde gredde:  
 'Mīne knihtes, hwat dō yē?  
 S[h]ulē yē þus-gāte frō mē flē?
- 2420 Ich hauē yōū fed, and yēt shal fēde,  
 Helpe[th] mē nū in þis nēde,  
 And late yē nouht mī bodī spille,  
 Ne Hauēlok dōn of mē hisē wille!  
 Yif yē it dō, yē dō yōū shāme,
- 2425 And bringe yōū-self in mikel blāme.'
- Hwan Ðe[i] þat herðen, Ðe[i] wenten ageyn,  
 And slōwen a kni[h]t and [ēk] a sweyn  
 Of þe kinges oune men,  
 And wōundeden abūten tēn.
- 2430 The kinges men, hwan Ðe[i] þat sowe,  
 Sc[h]uten on hem, heyē and lowe,  
 And euērilk fōt of hem [þei] slōwe,  
 But Godard ōne, þat hē flōwe,  
 Sō þe þēf [þat] men dōþ henge[n],
- 2435 Or hūnd men sholē in dike slenge[n]. [216b, 1]

2407 And Robert. 2413 his two. 2424 id. 2425 bringeth.  
 2427 and a *Sk.*] and and a.

- Ʒe[i]* búnden him ful swīpe faste,  
 Hwīl Ʒe bóndes wolden laste,  
 Ʒat hē rōrede als a bōle,  
 Ʒat wōre parred in an hōle,  
 2440 With dogges fortō bīte and beite[n]:  
 Wēre Ʒe bóndes nouht tō leite[n].  
*Ʒe[i]* bóunden him sō fēle sōre,  
 Ʒat hē gan crīen Godes ōre,  
 Ʒat hē sholde of his hénd plette[n],  
 2445 Wolden *Ʒe[i]* nouht Ʒēr-fōre lette[n],  
 Ʒat *Ʒe[i]* ne bóunden hénd and fēt:  
 DaƷeit Ʒat ōn Ʒat Ʒēr-fōre lēt!  
 But dinten him sō man dōth bēre,  
 And kaste him on a scabbed mēre,  
 2450 Hiſe nēse went un-tō Ʒe crīke:  
 Sō ledden *Ʒe[i]* Ʒat fūle swike,  
 Til hē biforn Hauelok was brouht,  
 Ʒat hē hauē[de] ful wō wrowht,  
 Bōpe with hungreð and with cōld,  
 2455 Ōr hē wēre twel[f] winter ōld,  
 And with manī heuī swink,  
 With pōure mēte, and fēble drink,  
 And [with] swīpe wikke clōpes,  
 For al hiſe manīe grēte ōthes.  
 2460 Nū beȳeþ hē his hólde blāme:  
 Óld sinne mākeþ newe shāme.
- [H]wan hē was [brouht] sō shāmelike  
 Biforn Ʒe king, Ʒe fūle swike,  
 Ʒe king dēde Ubbe swīpe calle  
 2465 Hiſe érles, and hiſe barōuns alle,  
 Dréng and thein, burgeis and kniht,  
 And bad *Ʒe[i]* sholden dēmen him riht:

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2439 Ʒat ] Ʒat he. 2442 so *Sk.* ] fo. 2446 hond. 2450 crice.  
 2452 was biforn H. brouth. 2453 hauede *Sk.* 2454 hungre *Sk.*  
 2456 amani *ms.* 2458 with *Sk.* 2462 brouht *Sk.* 2463 Biforn  
*Sk.* ] Brouht biforn.

For hē kneu þe swike *man*,  
Euēril[c]dēl God was him gram.

- 2470    *De*[i] setten hem dūn bī þe wowe,  
Rīche and pōuere, heyē and lowe,  
Pe hōlde men, and ēk þe grōm,  
And māde þēr þe rihte dōm,  
And seyden untō þe king anōn,  
2475    Pat stille sat [al] sō þe stōn:  
‘Wē dēme, þat hē bē al quic *flawen*,  
And siþen tō þe galwes drawe[n],  
At þis fōule mēre tayl;  
Þoru [h]is fēt a ful stróng nayl;  
2480    And þōre bēn hinged wit[h] twō fetēres, [216 b, 2]  
And þare bē writen þise letēres:  
‘Þis is þe swike þat wēnde wēl  
Pe king hauē reft þe lōnd il[c] dēl,  
And hise sistres with a knīf  
2485    Bōþe refte here lif.’  
Þis writ shal henge bī him þōre;  
Pe dōm is demd, seye wē na mōre.’

- Hwan þe dōm was demd and giue[n],  
And hē was wit[h] þe prēste shriue[n],  
2490    And it ne mouhte bēn nōn oþer,  
Ne for fāder, ne for brōþer,  
Pat hē sholde þarne lif,  
Skēt cam a ladde with a knīf,  
And bigan riht at þe tō  
2495    For tō ritte, and for tō flō,  
          . . . . .  
          . . . . .  
Sō it wēre grīm or gōre.  
And hē bigan [sō] for tō rōre,

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2468 *man* ] *dam*. 2475 *al Sk.* 2476 *al quic on eras.* || *flawen Sk.* ] *slawen*. 2489 *preste Mb.* ] *prestes*. 2496 *stands after* 2497.

Pat men mihte pēpen a mīle  
 Hēre him rōre, þat fūle file.  
 2500 Pe laddē ne lēt nō wiht for-þī,  
 Pou[h] hē criēde: 'Mercī, mercī'  
 Pat [hē] ne flōw [him] euēril[c] dēl  
 With knīf, mād of grūnden stēl.

2505 Pei garte bringe þe mēre sōne,  
 Skabbed and ful inele o bōne,  
 And būnden him riht at hire tayl  
 With a rōp of an óld seyl,  
 And drōwen him un-tō þe galwes,  
 Nouht bī þe gāte, but ouer þe falwes;  
 2510 And henge [him] þōre bī þe hals:  
 Dapeit hwō recke! hē was fals.

Danne hē was dēd, þat Sāthanas,  
 Skēt was seysed al þat his was  
 In þe kinges hand il[c] dēl,  
 2515 Lónd and līth, and oþer catēl,  
 And þe king ful sōne it yaf  
 Ubbe in þe hónd, wit[h] a fayr staf,  
 And seyde: 'Hēr ich sayse þē  
 In al þe lónd, in al þe fē.'

2520 Pō swōr Hauelok hē sholde māke,  
 Al for Grim, of monēkes blāke  
 A priorē to seruēn innē ay  
 Iēsus Crīst, til dōmesday,  
 For þe gōd hē hauēde him dōn,  
 2525 Hwīl hē was pōuere and we[ik] o bōn. [217, 1]  
 And pēr-of hēld hē wēl his oþh,  
 For hē it mādē, God it wōth,  
 In þe tūn pēr Grim was grāuen,  
 Pat of Grim yēt hāueþ þe nāme.

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2502 he *Sk.* || him *Sk.* 2505 Skabbed *Sk.* ] Skabbēb. 2510  
 him *Sk.* 2519 ond *on eras.* 2524 haueden.

## [XVII.]

- 2530 Of Grim bidde ich na mōre spelle[n].  
 But [h]wan Godrich herde telle[n],  
 Of Cornwayle þat was érl,  
 þat fūle traytōur, that mixed chérI,  
 Hauelok was king of Denemark,  
 2535 And with férde stróng and stark  
 [Was] comen Engelónd with-inne,  
 Engelónd al for tō winne,  
 And þat shē, þat was sō fayr,  
 Þat was of Engelónd riht eir,  
 2540 Was comen up at Grimesbi,  
 Hē was ful sor[w]ful and sōrī,  
 And seyde: 'Hwat shal mē tō rōþe?  
 Goddōth, ī shal dō slōn hem bōþe,  
 ī shal dōn hengen hem ful heye,  
 2545 Sō mōte ich brōuke mī riht eie,  
 But yif bē of mī lónd[e] flē.  
 Hwat, wēnden þe[i] tō desherite mē?

- Hē dide sōne férd üt bēde,  
 Þat al þat euere mouhte o stēde  
 2550 Rīde, or helm on bēued bēre,  
 Brinī on bac, and shéld, and spēre,  
 Or anī oþer wepne [of] férd,  
 Hand-ax, sýþe, ġisarm, or swérd,  
 Or aunlaz, and [ful] gōd lóng knīf,  
 2555 Þat als þe[i] louede leme or lif,  
 Pey sholden comen [alle] him tō,  
 With ful gōd wepne he[m] bēr sō  
 To Lincolne, þēr hē lay,  
 Of marz þe seuentēþe day,  
 2560 Sō þat he cōuþe hem gōd þank;

2534 þat H. 2535 with ferde Z. ] ferde with him. 2536  
 Was Z. 2540 Was Z. ] þat was. 2543 slon ] slou. 2546 londe  
 Sk. 2548 bede St.] bidde. 2552 ferd ] bere. 2553 swerd ] spere.  
 2556 þey ] þat þey. 2557 hem ] ye || þeber.

- And yif þat anī wēre sō rank,  
 That hē þanne (ne) cōme anōn,  
 Hē swōr bī Crīst, and seint Iohān,  
 That hē sholde mākēn him þral,  
 2565 And al his of-spring forth with-al.
- [Of] þe englishe þat herde þat,  
 Was nōn þat euere his bōde [at]sat.  
 For þe[i] him dredde swīpe sōre,  
 Sō rūncī spōre, and mikle mōre.  
 2570 At þe day þe[i] cōme sōne [217, 2]  
 Pat hē hem sette, ful wēl o bōne,  
 Tō Lincolne, with gōde stēdes,  
 And al þe wepne þat kniht lēdes.
- Hwan þe[i] wōre come, skēt was þe ērl yāre,  
 2575 Ageynes denshe men tō fāre,  
 And seyde: 'Lȳþeþ mē alle sāmen!  
 Hauē ich yōu gadred for nō gāmen,  
 But ich wilē seyen yōu for[h]wī;  
 Lōkeþ hware hēre at Grimesbī  
 2580 His ūten-laddes hēre comen,  
 And hauēþ þe priorīe numen;  
 Þe[i] brenne kirkēs, and prēstes bīnde[n],  
 Al þat euere mihtēþ þe[i] finde[n];  
 Þe[i] stranglen monkēs, and nunnes bōpe:  
 2585 [H]wat wilē yē, frēnd, hēr-offe rōþe?  
 Yif þe[i] regne þus-gāte lōnge,  
 Þe[i] mōūn us alle ōuer-gōnge,  
 Þe[i] mōūn us alle quic henge or slō,  
 Or þral[les] mākēn, and dō ful wō,  
 2590 Or elles rēue us ūre liues,  
 And ūre children, and ūre wīues.  
 But dōþ nū als ich wilē yōu lēre,

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2561 rang. 2576 me *Sk.* ] *mi.* 2577 Hauē ich gadred you.  
 2578 forhwi *Z.* ] forþi. 2580 Is *Z.* ] Hise. 2581 nu þe. 2582 *stands*  
*after* 2583. 2585 rōþe ] rede. 2591 wīues *on erasure.*

- Als yē wilē bē with mē dēre;  
 Nimeþ nū swīþe forth and rāþe,  
 2595 And helpeþ mē and yū-self bāþe,  
 And slōþ up-o þe dogges swīþe:  
 For shal [ī] neuere mōre bē bliþe,  
 Ne hosedē bēn, ne of prēst shriuen,  
 Til þat þe[i] bēn of lōnde driuen.  
 2600 Nime wē swīþe, and dō hem flē,  
 And folweþ alle faste mē,  
 For ich am hē, of al þe fērd,  
 Pat first shal slō with drawen swērd.  
 Daþeyt hwō ne stōnde faste  
 2605 Bī mē, hwil hise armes laste!

- ‘Yē, lēf, yē’, *quoth* þe érl Guntēr;  
 ‘Yā’, *quoth* þe érl of Cestre, Reynēr.  
 And sō didē alle þat þēr stōde,  
 And stirte forth sō þe[i] wēre wōde.  
 2610 Pō mouhte men sē þe briniēs brihte  
 On backes kaste, and late rihte,  
 Þe helmes heyē on hēued sette[n],  
 Tō armes al sō swīþe plette[n],  
 Pat þei wōre on a litel stūnde  
 2615 Gre[i]thed, als men mihte telle a pūnd, [217b, 1]  
 And lōpen on stēdes sōne anōn,  
 And tōward Grimesbī, ful gōd wōn,  
 Þe[i] fōren softe bī þe stī,  
 Til þe[i] cōme ney at Grimesbī.

## [XVIII.]

- 2620 Hauelok, þat hauēde spired wēl  
 Of here fāre, euēril[c] dēl,  
 With al his fērd cam hem a-geyn,  
 For-bar he nōþer kniht ne sweyn.  
 Þe firste kniht þat hē þēr mette,

2625 With þe swérd sō hē him grette,  
*Þat* his hēued of hē plette;  
 Wolde hē nouht for sinne lette.

Roberd saw þat dint sō hēnde,  
 Wolde hē neuere þēpe[n] wēnde,  
 2630 Til þat hē hauede anōþer slawen,  
 With þe swérd hē hēld üt-drawen.

Will[i]am Wendut his swérd üt-drōw,  
 And þe þridde sō sōre hē slōw,  
 Þat hē māde up-on the fēld  
 2635 His lift arm fleye, with the shēld.

Hūwe Rāuen ne forgat [hē] nouht  
 Pe swérd hē hauede þider brouht,  
 He kipte it up, and smōt ful sōre  
 An érl, þat hē saw priken þōre,  
 2640 Ful noblelike upon a stēde,  
 Þat with him wolde al quic wēde.  
 Hē smōt him on þe hēued sō,  
 Þat hē þe hēued clēf a-twō,  
 And þat [hē] bī þe shu[l]dre-blāde  
 2645 Pe sharpe swérd lēt [dēpe] wāde  
 Þorw the brēst untō þe herte;  
 Pe dint bigan ful sōre tō smerte,  
 Þat þe érl fel dūn a-nōn,  
 Al sō dēd sō anī stōn.

2650 Quoth Ubbe: 'Nū dwelle ich tō lōnge.'  
 And lēth his stēde sōne góngē  
 Tō Godrich, with a gōd[e] spēre,  
 Þat hē saw a-nōþer bēre,  
 And smōth Godrich, and G[odrich] him,

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2626 þat ] For. 2629 þēpen *Sk.* 2635 sheld *Sk.* ] sword.  
 2644 shuldre *Sk.* 2654 G[odrich] *Sk.*



- 2655 Hētelike with herte grim,  
Sō þat þe[i] bōþe felle dūne,  
Tō þe érþe, first þe crōune.
- Panne þe[i] wōren fallen dūn,  
Grundlike here swérðes üt-drōwen,  
2660 Pat wēren swiþe sharp and gōde, [217 b, 2]  
And fouhten sō þei wōren wōde,  
Pat þe swōt ran frō þe crūne  
[Tō the fēt riht þēre adūne.]  
Pēr mouhte men sē t[w]ō knihtes bēte
- 2665 Ayþer on oþer dintes grēte,  
Sō þat with [þe] alþer-lēst[e] dint  
Wēre al to-shiuered a flint.  
Sō was bi-twēnen hem a fiht,  
Frō þe morwen nēr tō þe niht,
- 2670 Sō þat þei [stunte] nouht ne blunne,  
Til þat tō sette bigan þe sunne.  
Pō yaf Godrich þorw þe sīde  
Ubbē a wūnde ful un-rīde,  
Sō þat þorw þat ilke wōunde
- 2675 Hauede [hē] bēn brouht tō grūnde,  
And his hēued al of-slawnen,  
Yif God ne wēre, and Hūwe Rāuen,  
Pat drōw him frō Godrich away,  
And barw him sō þat ilke day.
- 2680 But ðr hē wēre frō Godrich drawen,  
Pēr wēre a þōusend knihtes slawen  
Bī bōþe halue, and mō y-nōwe,  
Pēr þe fērðes tō-gidere slōwe.  
Pēr was swilk drēping of þe folk,
- 2685 Pat on þe féld was neuere a polk  
Pat it ne stōd of blōd sō ful,

---

2658 dun bopen. 2663 *Sk.* 2666 leste *Sk.* 2670 stunte  
*Mu.* || blunne *St.* ] blinne. 2675 to þe.

Pat þe strēm ran til þe hul.

- 2690      Þō t'arst bigan Godrich tō gō  
 Up-on þe denshe, and faste tō slō,  
 And forth riht alsō lēūn fāreþ,  
 Pat nōne kin[n]es bēst ne spāreþ,  
 Þanne h[ē] is gōn, — for hē garte alle  
 Pe denshe men biforn him falle.  
 Hē felde brōwne, hē felde blāke,  
 2695      Pat hē mouhte ðuer-tāke.  
 Was neuere nōn þat mouhte þāue  
 Hiſe dintes, neyþer kniht ne knāue,  
 Pat þe[i] [ne] felleþ sō dōþ þe gres  
 Bi-forn þe sýþe þat ful sharp es.  
  
 2700      Hwan Hauelok saw his folk sō brittene,  
 And his férd so swīþe littene,  
 Hē cam drīuende up-on a stēde,  
 And bigan til him tō grēde,  
 And seyde: 'Godrich, [h]wat is þē  
 2705      Pat þōū fāre þus with mē,  
 And mīne gōde knihtes slōs[t]?                      [218, 1]  
 Siker-like þōū mis-gōs[t].  
 Þōū wōst ful wēl, yif þū wilt wite[n];  
 Pat Aþelwold þē dide sit[t]e[n]  
 2710      On knēs, and swēren on messe-bōk,  
 On caliz, and on [pateyn] hōk,  
 Pat þōū hiſe douhter sholdest yélde,  
 Pan shē wēre wimman of élde,  
 Engelónd [al] euēril[c] dēl:  
 2715      Godrich þe érl, þōū wōst it wēl.  
 Dō nū wēl with-ūten fiht,  
 Yéld hire þe lónd, for þat is riht!  
 Wile ich forgiue þē þe lathe,

---

2687 intil.      2690 leun ] leuin.      2691 none *Wi.* ] neuere.  
 2692 he is ] his.      2698 ne fellen *Sk.* ] felden.      2699 es ] is.  
 2711 pateyn *Sk.* ] messe.

2720 Al mī dēole and al mī wrathe,  
For y̅ sē pū art sō wiht,  
And of pī bodī sō gōd kniht.'

'Pat ne wilē ich neuere mō,  
Quoth érl Godrich, 'for ich shal slō  
Pē, and hire for-henge heye.  
2725 I shal prist ūt pī riht[e] eye  
Pat pōw lōkes[t] with on mē,  
But pū swīpe hēpen flē.'

Hē grōp þe swérd ūt sōne anōn,  
And hew on Hauelok, ful gōd wōn,  
2730 Sō þat hē clēf his shéld on twō:  
Hwan Hauelok saw þat shāme dō  
His bodī pēr bi-forn his férd,  
Hē drōw ūt sōne his gōde swérd,  
And smōt him sō up-on þe crūne,  
2735 Pat Godrich fel tō þe érpe adūre.  
But Godrich stirt up swīpe skēt, —  
Lay hē nowht lōnge at hise fēt, —  
And smōt him on þe sholdre sō,  
Pat hē dide þare undō

2740 Of his briniē ringes mō,  
Pan þat ich kan tellen frō;  
And wóundede him riht in þe flesh,  
Pat tendre was, and swīpe nesh,  
Sō þat þe blōd ran til his tō:

2745 Pō was (H)auelok swīpe wō,  
Pat hē hauede of him drawen  
Blōd, and [ēk] sō sōre him slawen.  
Hertelike til him hē wente,  
And Godrich pēr fūl[l]ike shente;

2750 For his swérd hē hōf up heye,  
And þe hand hē dide of fleye,

[218, 2]

Pat hē smōt him with sō sōre:  
Hw mihte hē dōn him shāme mōre?

- 2755 Hwan hē hauede him sō shāmed,  
His hand of plat, and yuele lāmed,  
Hē tōk him sōne bī þe necke  
Als a traytōūr, daþeyt [h]wō recke!  
And didē him bīnde and fetere wēl  
With gōde feteres al of stēl.
- 2760 And tō þe quēn hē sēnde him,  
Pat birde wēl tō him bēn grim;  
And bad shē sholde dōn him gēte[n],  
And pat nōn ne sholde him bēte[n],  
Ne shāme dō, for hē was kniht,
- 2765 Til knihtes haueden demd him riht.

- Pan þe englishe men pat sowe  
Pat þei wisten, heyē and lowe,  
Pat Góldeboru, pat was sō fayr,  
Was of Engeland riht eyr,
- 2770 And pat þe king hire hauede wedded,  
And haueden bēn sāmen bedded,  
Ðe[i] cōmen alle tō criē merci,  
Untō þe king, at ōne crī,  
And bēden him sōne manrēde and ōth,
- 2775 Pat þe[i] ne sholden, for lēf ne lōth,  
Neuere mōre ageyn him gō,  
Ne rīde, for wēl[e] ne for wō.

- Ðe king ne wolde nouht for-sāke[n],  
Pat hē ne shulde of hem tāke[n]
- 2780 Manrēde pat þe[i] bēden, and ōk  
Hōld ōþes swēren on þe bōk;  
But ōr bad hē, pat þider wēre brouht  
Þe quēn, for hem, swilk was his pouht,  
For tō sē[n] and fortō showe[n],

- 2785 Yif þat þe[i] hire wolde knowe[n].  
 Þorūth hem witen wolde hē,  
 Yif þat shē auc[h]te quēn tō bē.

Sixe érles wēren sōne yāre  
 After hire for tō fāre.

- 2790 Þe[i] nōmen on-ōn, and cōmen sōne,  
 And brouhten hire, þat under mōne  
 In al þe werd ne hāuēde pēr,  
 Of hēnde-leik[e], fer ne nēr.

- 2795 Hwan shē was come þider, alle  
 Þe englishē men bi-gunne tō falle  
 O knēs, and grēten swiþe sōre, [218b, 1]  
 And seyden: 'Lēuēdī, K[r]istes ōre,  
 And yōures! wē hauēn misdō mikel,  
 Pat wē aye[i]n yōū hauē bē fikel,  
 2800 For Englónd auhte fortō bēn  
 Yōures, and wē yōure men.  
 Is nōn of us, yung ne óld,  
 Pat hē ne wōt þat Aþelwold  
 Was king of [al] þis kinerike,  
 2805 And yē his eyr, and þat þe swike  
 Hauēþ it hōlden with mikel wróngē:  
 God lēue him sōne [hei] tō hóngel'

- 2810 Quot[h] Hauēlok: 'Hwan þat yē it wite[n],  
 Nū wilē ich þat yē dōūn [hēr] sit[t]e[n],  
 And after Godrich hauēþ wrouht,  
 Pat hauēþ him-self in sorwe brouht,  
 Lōkeþ þat yē dēmen him riht,  
 For dōm ne spāreþ clerk ne kniht!  
 And sipen shal ich under-stónde  
 2815 Of yōū, [al] after lawē of lónde,

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2797 Kristes *Sk.* 2800 ben youre. 2801 And we youre  
 men and youre. 2803 he *St.* ] we. 2808 Quot *Sk.* ] Quot.  
 2811 in sorwe him-self. 2813 spared.

Manrēde, and hólde oþes bōþe,  
Yif yē it wilen, and ēk rōthe.<sup>3</sup>

- Anōn þēr dūne þe[i] hem sette[n],  
For nōn þe dōm ne durste lette[n],  
2820 And demden him tō binden faste  
Up-on an asse swiþe un-wraste,  
Andelóng, nouht ouer-þwert, —  
His nōse went untō þe stert; —  
And sō tō Lincolne lēde,  
2825 Shāmelike in wicke wēde,  
And hwan hē cam un-tō þe borw,  
Shāmelike bēn led þēr-þoru,  
Bī sōuþe þe borw, un-tō a grēne,  
Pat þare is yēt[e], als y wēne,  
2830 And þere bē bunden til a stāke,  
Abōuten him ful grēt fir [tō] māke,  
And al tō dust bē brend riht þore;  
And yēt[e] demden þe[i] þēr mōre,  
Oþer swikes for tō warne,  
2835 Pat hise children s[h]ulde þarne  
Euere mōre þat eritāge,  
Pat his was, for hise ūtrāge.

- Hwan þe dōm was demd and seyd,  
Skēt was þe swike on þe asse leyð,  
2840 And [led] hun-til þat ilke grēne,  
And brend til asken al bidēne. [218b, 2]

[XIX.]

- Pō was Góldeboru ful bliþe,  
Shē þanked God [ful] fēle sýþe,  
Pat þe fūle swike was brend,  
2845 Pat wēnde wēl hire bodi hauē shend,  
And seyde: 'Nū is tīme tō tāke  
Manrēde of brūne and of blāke,

Pat ich rīde sē and gō,  
Nū ich am wrēke[n] of mī fō.'

- 2850 Hauēlok anōn manrēde tōk  
Of alle engliše, on þe bōk,  
And didē hem grēte ōþes swēre[n],  
Pat þe[i] sholden him gōd feyth bēre[n]  
Ageyn [hem] alle þat wōren līues,  
2855 And þat sholdē bēn born of wīues.

- Þanne hē hauēde sikernesse  
Tāken of mōre and of lesse,  
Al at hisē wille, sō didē hē calle  
Þe érl of Cestre, and hisē men alle,  
2860 Pat was yung kniht wit[h]-ūten wif,  
And seyde: 'Sīre érl, bī mī lif,  
And þōū wile mī cō[ū]nseyl trō,  
Ful wēl shal ich with þē dō,  
For ich shal yēue þē tō wīue  
2865 Þe fairest þing that is olīue.  
Pat is Gunnild of Grimesbȳ,  
Grimes douhter, bī seint Dauȳ,  
Pat mē forth brou[h]te, and wēl fedde,  
And ūt of Denemark with mē fledde,  
2870 Mē for tō berwe frō mī dēd:  
Sikerlike, þoru his rēd  
Hauē ich liuēd in-tō þis day,  
Blissed worþe his soule ay!  
I rēde þat þū hire tāke,  
2875 And spūse, and curteys[i]e māke,  
For shē is fayr, and shē is frē,  
And al sō hēnde sō shē may bē.  
Þertēkenē shē is wēl with mē,  
Pat shal ich ful wēl shewe þē,  
2880 For ich giue þē a giue,  
Pat euere mōre hwil ich liue,

For hire shal-tū bē with mē dēre,  
 Pat wilē ich þat þis folc al hēre.'

- 2885      Þe érl ne wolde nouht ageyn  
 Þe king[e] bē, for kniht ne sweyn,  
 Ne of þe spūsing seyen nay,                      [219, 1]  
 But spūsedē [hire] þat ilke day.

- 2890      Pat spūsingē was [in] gōd tīme mākēd,  
 For it ne wēre neuere clad ne nākēd  
 In a þēde samēned twō  
 Pat cōm tō-gidere, [þat] liuēde sō,  
 Sō þey didē [on] al herē liue:  
 Ðe[i] gēten sāmen sonēs fīue,  
 Pat wēre þe beste men at nēde,  
 2895      Pat mouhte rīden on anī stēde.

- Hwan Gunnild was tō Cestre brouht,  
 Hauēlok þe gōde for-gat [hē] nouht  
 Bertram, þat was the érles kōk,  
 Pat hē ne didē [him] callen ōk,  
 2900      And seyde: 'Frēnd, sō God mē rēde,  
 Nū shaltū hāue rīche mēde,  
 For wissing and þī gōde dēde,  
 Pat tū mē didēs[t] in ful grēt nēde.  
 For þanne y yēde in mī cuuel,  
 2905      And ich ne hāuē[de] brēd, ne sowel,  
 Ne y ne hāuēde nō catēl,  
 Pōū feddes[t] and claddes[t] mē ful wēl.  
 Hāuē nū for þī of Cornwayle  
 Þe érlđōm il[c]dēl, with-ūten fayle,  
 2910      And al þe lōnd þat Godrich hēld,  
 Bōþe in tōwnē, and ēk in féld;  
 And þértō wilē ich þat þū spūse,  
 And fayre bring hire un-til hūse,



- Grimes douhter, Leuiue þe hēnde,  
 2915 For þider shal shē with þē wēnde.  
 Hire sēmeþ curteys fortō bē,  
 For shē is fayr sō flōur on trē;  
 Þe heu is swilk in hire lēr  
 Sō þe rōse in rosēr,  
 2920 Hwan it is fayr sprad ūt newe  
 Ageyn þe sunne, briht and lewe.'

- And girde him sōne with þe swērd  
 Of þe érldōm, bi-forn his férd,  
 And with his hōnd hē māde him kniht,  
 2925 And yaf him armes, for þat was riht,  
 And dide him þēre sōne wedde  
 Hire þat was ful swēte in bedde.

- After þat þe[i] spūsed wōre,  
 Wolde þe érl nouht dwelle þōre,  
 2930 But sōne nam until his lōnd,  
 And seysed it al in his hōnd, [219, 2]  
 And liuede þer-inne, hē and his wif,  
 An hundred winter in gōd lif,  
 And gēten manī children sāmen,  
 2935 And liueden ay in blisse and gāmen.

- Hwan þe maydens wēre spūsed bāþe,  
 Hauelok ānōn bigan ful rāthe  
 His denshe men tō feste wēl  
 Wit[h] rīche landes and catēl,  
 2940 Sō þat þe[i] wēren alle rīche:  
 For hē was large and nouht chīnche.

Ðēr-after sōne, with his hēre,

---

2930 his *repeated and expunged*. 2933 hundred etc. *on erasure*.  
 — *Between this line and the next are inserted the words: For he saw þat he [= V. 2954], which have been subsequently struck out by the same hand, and the word vacat affixed.*

Fōr hē tō Lundone, fortō bēre  
 Corūne, sō þat [alle] it sowe,  
 2945 Henglishe and denshe, heyē and lowe,  
 Hwōū hē it bar with mikel prīde,  
 For his barnāge þat was un-rīde.

De fēste of his corūni[n]g  
 Laste[de] with grēt ioying  
 2950 Fourtī dawes, and sumdēl mō;  
 Pō bigunneþ þe denshe tō gō  
 Un-tō þe king, tō aske lēue,  
 And hē ne wolde hem nouht grēue, —  
 For hē saw þat þe[i] wōreþ yāre  
 2955 In-tō Denemark for tō fāre, —  
 But gaf hem lēue sōne anōn,  
 And bitauhte hem seint Iohān;  
 And bad Ubbe, his iustise,  
 Pat hē sholde on ilke wīse  
 2960 Denemark yēmē and gēte sō,  
 Pat nō pleynte cōmē him tō.

Hwan þe[i] (wōre) parted alle sāmen,  
 Hauelok bi-lefte wit[h] ioie and gāmen  
 In Engelōnd, and was þēr-inne  
 2965 Sixtū winter king with winne,  
 And Góldeboru quēn, þat I wēne:  
 Sō mikel louē was hem bitwēne,  
 Pat al þe werd spak of hem twō:  
 Hē louede hire, and shē him sō,  
 2970 Pat neyþer oþe[r] mihte bē[n]  
 Frō oþer, ne nō ioie sē[n],  
 But y[i]f þe[i] wēre tō-gidere bōþe;  
 Neuere yēte ne wēreþ þe[i] wrōþe,  
 For here loue was ay newe,

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2944 alle *Sk.* 2948 coruning *Sk.* 2949 Lastede *Sk.* 2962 wore  
 added on margin. 2970 oþer *Sk.* 2971 Fro *Sk.* ] For. 2972 gi-  
 dere *Sk.* ] gidede.

- 2975 Neuere yēte wordes ne grewe [219b, 1]  
 Bitwēne hem, hwar-of ne lathe  
 Mihte riſe, ne nō wrathe.

- De[i]* gēten children hem bi-twēne  
 Sonēs and douhtres riht fluētēne,  
 2980 Hwar-of þe sonēs wēre kinges alle, —  
 Sō wolde God it sholde bifalle, —  
 And þe douhtres alle quēnes:  
 Him stōndeþ wēl þat gōd child 'strēnes!

- Nū hauē yē herd þe gēst al þoru  
 2985 Of Hauelok and of Góldeborw:  
 Hw *þe[i]* wēren born, and fedde,  
 And hwōū *þe[i]* wōren with wrōnge ledde  
 In here yōūþe, with trecherie,  
 With trēsōūn, and with felōūnþe,  
 2990 And hwōū þe swikes haueden tiht  
 Rēuen hem þat was here riht,  
 And hwōū *þe[i]* wēren. wrēken wēl,  
 Hauē ich sey[d] yōū euēril[c]dēl.

- Forþi ich wolde bisēken yōū,  
 2995 Pat hauen herd þe rīm [riht] nū,  
 Pat ilke of yōū, with gōde wille,  
 Seye a pāter noster stille  
 For him þat haueth þe rīm [i]māked,  
 And þēr-fōre fēle nihtes wāked;  
 3000 Pat Iēsus Crīst his soule bringe  
 Bi-forn his fāder at his endinge!

A m e n.

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2986 and hw fedde. 2990 tiht *Sk.* ] thit. 2994 And forþi.



## Notes.

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V. 39—44. Cp. v. 266—269. Hales says in *The Athenæum*, 1889, no. 3200, p. 245: «The several passages in which the suppression of robbers and the vigorous establishment of order throughout the country are so specially described must surely contain reference to the vigorous administration of him who has been called 'the greatest of the Plantagenets' [Edward I.]. It seems impossible not to connect these passages with the statute of Winchester passed in 1285, and the Commissions of Trailbaston first issued in 1292. The object of the statute of Winchester was 'to put down the lawless bands of clubmen, old soldiers, outlaws, and sturdy beggars who had taken to robbing in gangs and living upon the country.'»

V. 44 seqq. Hales remarks l. c.: «Scarcely less significant is the stress which the romance-writer lays on the incorruptibility with which the law was administered (v. 44, cp. 1430). 'Bribes in their behalf went for nothing.' Now in 1289 the king took the most energetic measures to purify the law courts. When he returned to England from the Continent in that year, all the judges were apprehended, and indicted for bribery. Two only were acquitted . . . All the others were severely punished.»

V. 45 seq. Madden supplies the missing l. 46: *Wel fifti pund, i wōt, or mōre*, with reference to a similar passage in the Romance of Guy of Warwick, which reads in the edition of Zupitza (*Early Engl. Text Soc., E. S., XLII*) p. 10, v. 137 seqq. after the Auchinleck Ms.:

*Fei a man bar an hundred pōunde,  
Opon him, of gōld ygrōunde,  
pē[r] nas man in al þis lōnde  
þat durst him dō schāme ne shōnde,*

and after the Caius Ms., ib. p. 11:

*Though men did bēre an hundred pōunde,  
Upon him, of penyes rōunde,  
Thēre shulde not bee fōunde in all the lōnde  
A theef that him wolde hurte ne shōnde.*

V. 50. Cp. lines 994 and 1689.

V. 80 seq. We have here an anacoluthia, as v. 81 presupposes *Was hē* instead of *Wēre hē* in v. 80. According to the latter we should expect v. 81 to run: *Hē mǎde him [ful] sōne kesten*, cp. v. 78.

V. 87—105. The number of rimes being odd here (viz. 19), one line must be wanting. But it is difficult to make out where the gap is.

V. 115. The verb *underfinden* occurs in *Vices and Virtues* (E. E. T. S., 89) p. 99, l. 32; cp. also O. Sax. *underfindan*, Dutch *ondervinden*, Mod. E. *to underfind* (obsol. and provinc.).

V. 118. Supply the inf. *bēn* after *rēde*.

V. 130. *hem* refers clearly to enemies or bad men mentioned before. I therefore suppose that some preceding lines are omitted by the scribe.

V. 139. Cp. on this line W. Hales in *The Athenæum*, 1889, no. 3200, p. 244, where he says concerning verses 139 and 265: «From the year 1296 the name of Roxburgh became thoroughly familiar to the Southern ear, as in fact the name of king Edward's northern border fortress — the name of the limit of English rule in that part of the island. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine that any one before that year could have mentioned it along with Dover, as it is mentioned in the romance of 'Havelok'. . . . When the Scottish troubles were beginning, and the arbitration of king Edward was invoked, one of his first requests was that certain national fortresses should be given up to him, and one of these was Roxburgh. . . . While the king held these fortresses in 1292, the Court of King's Bench sat for some time at Roxburgh. After this temporary occupation the castles were, when king Edward gave his award, restored to the Scots. When at last war broke out between the two nations, one of Edward's first acts in his first invasion of Scotland in 1296 was to seize Roxburgh. . . . And for many years it remained in the hands of the English. . . .

It was besieged vainly by Wallace in 1298; it was the English mustering place in 1303. . . . So it was from the year 1296 that Roxburgh became, for a time at least, the boundary fortress of England. And assuredly not till then might such a phrase as 'from Dover to Roxburgh' be expected to suggest itself. But clearly before 1291 it can scarcely be conceived as occurring.»

V. 192. Cp. v. 259, where the age is raised to twenty years. But *twenti* instead of *twelf* would make a bad verse.

V. 194. *Of curteysye* 'according to court-manners', 'courtly', cp. the dissertation of J. W. Bearder, *Über den Gebrauch der Präpos. in der altschott. Poesie*, Halle 1894, p. 37, 4.

V. 199. As to the emendation *herte* cp. v. 1080.

V. 213. A minstrel's jest, of course.

V. 228. Quoted from Luke XXIII. 46.

V. 247. May we conjecture *fēr withūt ende for tō wone*? As the line stands, one is tempted to connect it with v. 245, which however makes nonsense.

V. 257 means 'until his death', cp. v. 1405 and 2210.

V. 259. Cp. note to v. 192.

V. 263 seqq. Cp. note to v. 39 seqq. Hales quotes Lingard, who says that the statute of Winchester was ill observed, till the king issued a commission to certain knights in every shire, authorizing them to enforce the provisions of the act, and to call to their aid the posse of the sheriff as often as it might be requisite. The utility of these commissioners was soon ascertained; they were gradually armed with more extensive powers; and instead of 'conservators' were at last styled 'justices of the peace'. — Skeat has a note on this verse, saying that «the earliest instance produced by Dugdale of the 'Justices Itinerant', is in 23 Henry II. (1176), when by the advice of the Council held at Northampton, the realm was divided into six parts, and into each were sent three Justices. (*Orig. Judic.* p. 51.) This is stated on the authority of Hoveden. Dugdale admits however the custom to have been older, and in Gervasius Dorobernensis, we find, in 1170, certain persons, called *inquisitores*, appointed to perambulate England. Gervase of Tilbury, or whoever was the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*<sup>1)</sup>, calls them *deambulantes, vel perlustrantes judices*. See Spelman, *in voc.* The office continued to the time of Edward III., when it was superseded by that of the Justices of Assize.»

V. 277 means 'was greatly afraid of him', cp. as to the construction the New Engl. Dict. I, 594 col. 1, 4) a. *Al Engeland* is really the dative.

V. 365 construe [*Hwan*] *his quiste [was] māked, and [almes], for him [wēre] gyven*. Cp. v. 218 seqq.

V. 403 seqq. Jesus Christ stands here instead of God the Father, cp. especially v. 407. If it is not the poet's own oversight, we may perhaps conjecture that the original reading was

*God, that māde [sunne and] mōne,*

and in l. 407:

*In heuene-riche with his sone!*

But in lines 432 and 436 we find the same mistake.

<sup>1)</sup> «Madox was the first to point out that this was impossible (*Hist. of the Exchequer*, II. 410)», says the Dict. of Nat. Biogr. XXI. 242.

V. 432 means 'on which Christ ran with blood'. Cp. also note to v. 403.

V. 484. *bidden* means here 'offer' (confounded with *bēden*, O. E. *béodan*).

V. 486. *Tō that forward*: 'on that condition (promise)'.

V. 504. As Prof. Napier suggests, we ought to read *þouh* 'nevertheless' instead of *þoucte*.

V. 505. *But ðn*: 'with the only exception'.

V. 532. *wif þan*: 'provided that'.

V. 546. After this line two verses must have been forgotten, containing: he put into his mouth (cp. v. 637 seq.).

V. 549. *Hwēre* is here = *hwēþere*.

V. 572. *him* relates to Grim, the verses 572—74 obviously containing a malediction by the poet: «It is a pity, that . . .»

V. 574. *dēre* is here = O. E. *derian* 'to injure, hurt'. I cannot accept the interpretation of this passage by Wm. Hand Browne, who says (Mod. Lang. Notes VII, 267): «Havelok, in great peril, laments *that him ne hævede grip or ern . . . that wolde him dere*. Instead of *dere* (injure) I should like to read *nere* (deliver), if I could find the word so late in use. The deliverance of innocents by the intervention of friendly griffins or lions was a common incident in romance.» — My interpunction of the lines will make them quite clear, I hope.

V. 594. Cp. lines 716, 761, and 2125.

V. 597. Cp. *rīs* in v. 584.

V. 600. This platitude seems to betray some corruption. But I cannot find any emendation worth mentioning.

V. 693. Cp. note to v. 118.

V. 705 means 'and he converted all into ready money', in German: 'er machte alles zu Gelde'.

V. 782. *Of* is adverb: 'in order to make good lines of it'.

V. 784. *settes* 'set them'; cp. *dōnes* v. 970. Hupe in Anglia XIII. 189 explains *weren* = *hwēre*, cancels comma after *netes* and reads *ofte fetes*.

V. 801. *þat* is certainly a clerical error for *þar* = *þarf*, cp. *þurte* v. 10 = *þurfte*.

V. 816. *þe foure*, viz. Grim and his three sons.

V. 869. This line is inserted according to v. 101.

V. 870. Wittenbrinck proposes *of glēde*, comparing v. 91.

V. 930 means 'he was quite comfortable'.

V. 936. *him ðne*: 'he himself alone', 'quite alone'.

V. 962. Cp. note to v. 505.

V. 976. Perhaps we should write *þe* instead of *in*.

V. 978 means 'as he seemed (to be), when he was clothed'.

V. 993 seq. Cp. v. 49 seq.

V. 1006. The only Parliament held at Lincoln was in the year 1301, under Edward I. Hall says l. c.: «Is it likely that this account could have been given of a Parliament before the year 1295, the year of the first complete and model Parliament of the Three Estates? That is, this Parliament was composed of earles and barons, and men sent by the people at large; for this is what the somewhat obscure latter lines [1001—1005] seem to mean.»

V. 1072. Cp. v. 1063, 1084 and 2242.

V. 1080. Cp. v. 199 and 1110.

V. 1146. Supply *am* after *ich*.

V. 1174. *ys* and *es* (Ma. *as*) is the acc. pl. 'them', cp. note to v. 784.

V. 1178. The archbishop of York was really present at the Parliament of Lincoln; the writs to him and other nobles are still extant [Madden].

V. 1199 means 'they marched over the country'.

V. 1201. Cp. v. 2618.

V. 1217. *Lȝues* instead of *on lȝue* would make the line smoother.

V. 1233. Cp. v. 2458.

V. 1246 seems to mean 'they drank their healths', 'they toasted them'.

V. 1292. Willenbrinck would read *howe* 'to gaze at' (O. E. *hāwian*). Cp. *bihowe* in Rob. Manning's Chron. v. 11165. Or is *awe* miswritten for *showe* 'see' (cp. v. 1853)?

V. 1298. Hupe corrects *haue* into *awe* 'to own'.

V. 1317. Zupitza would emend *Nis nōn [sō] strōng . . .*. But as two lines at least are left out between v. 1315 and 1316, this emendation is necessarily very uncertain.

V. 1328. Cp. v. 2195.

V. 1335. Kölbing proposed *as ȝ wile, rāthe* ('quickly'), and consequently *bāpe* in v. 1336.

V. 1336. Wittenbrinck would emend *Nim mē with þē . . . rāpe*. Kölbing compares v. 2600.

V. 1405 means 'when he died'. This is the usual language of the *inquisitiones post mortem* [Skeat].

V. 1428. Zupitza proposes *Hē hauede*.

V. 1445 seqq. A folio has been cut out, containing 180 lines. With help of the French poem and the following narration of the English lay, we may supply the blank as follows: «To this they gladly assented; and Havelok, accompanied by his wife and Grim's sons, set sail for Denmark. Disembarking, they travel till they reach the castle of a great Danish earl, named Ubbe (Sigard in French), an old friend to Birkabein. Havelok begs



that he will allow him to live in that part of the country, and to gain a livelihood by trading.» [Skeat.]

V. 1640. Cp. v. 12.

V. 1643. *Hævede*: 'he would have'.

V. 1649. Or should we emend *Hē sēmede tō bēn wel stróng?*

V. 1677. Supply *rōd* after *And*.

V. 1783. Hupe, in *Anglia XIII.* 199, proposes *ich [haue] dropen*, which is perhaps better.

V. 1864. *Gleyues* is meaningless, and ought to have been corrected into *glēbes* 'glebes'.

V. 1915. Hupe, in *Anglia XIII.* 188, explains *weren* = *hwēre*, and takes *werewed* as plur. pret.

V. 1917. I do not understand this line.

V. 1932. This line is evidently corrupt.

V. 2026. Cp. v. 1768, 1918, 1956.

V. 2036. Cp. v. 907.

V. 2132. Night-shirts were not yet used in that time. «From the latter end of the 13th to near the 16th century, all ranks, and both sexes, were universally in the habit of sleeping quite naked. This custom is often alluded to by Chaucer, Gower, Lydgate, and all our ancient writers.» [Ellis, quoted by Madden.]

V. 2290 seq. Cp. v. 162 seq.

V. 2298. Cp. v. 2151 seq.

V. 2352. *Ilker* is = *ilk here* 'each of them'.

V. 2495 seq. Something like «the blood came out» must have stood in the gap.

V. 2520 seqq. «The allusion here may be made either to the Abbey of Wellow, in Grimsby, which was a monastery of *Black Canons*, said to have been built about A. D. 1110, or (what is more probable) to the Augustine Friary of Black Monks, which is stated in the *Monumental Antiquities of Grimsby*, by the Rev. G. Oliver, to have been 'founded about the year 1280', p. 110. No notice of it occurs in Tanner till the year 1304. Pat. 33 Edw. I. Some old walls of this edifice, which was dissolved in 1543, still remain, and the site is still called 'The Friars'» [Madden.]

V. 2530. «The French supplies what is here omitted, viz. that Havelok sails to England by the persuasion of his wife.» [Madden.]

V. 2547. Hupe, in *Anglia XIII.* 189, explains *wenden* *he* as *wēnde hē*.

V. 2548 seqq. Hales l. c. observes: «Surely another note of the time is audible here in this description of the *fyrd*; for the *fyrd* was revived by the statute of Winchester in 1285 . . . In 1297 this statute was put in force in respect of the *fyrd*. In

that year there was made a military levy of the whole kingdom— exactly such a levy as Godrich appoints.»

V. 2557. *Ye ber* is meaningless. May we read *hem bē* 'go, repair'?

V. 2567. Cp. v. 2200.

V. 2581 seqq. The French poem only says that they sought food in the country round («*Par le pais viande quierent*»).

V. 2626. Cp. v. 2634 and 2643.

V. 2658. Hupe l. c. p. 200 corrects *boþen* to [*þei*] *bowen* 'they bent'.

V. 2666. Cp. v. 1978.

V. 2675. Zupitza proposes *Hē havede*.

V. 2813. Hales says l. c. 245: «This line cannot but be associated not only with the First Statute of Westminster, 1275, but with the decree and the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*, 1285. The First Statute of Westminster declares, amongst other things, that common justice shall be done without respect of persons. As to the writ of *Circumspecte agatis*, it defines the sphere of the spiritual courts. To quote Dr. Stubbs, it 'recognizes their right to hold pleas on matters merely spiritual, such as offences for which penance was due, tithes, mortuaries, churches and churchyards, injuries done to clerks, perjury, and defamation'. The clerk as well as the knight, says Havelok, is amenable to the common law; there is no such immunity as the church is perpetually striving after. And this is just what Edward I. had been insisting upon.»

V. 2967—77. Hales says l. c.: «I cannot but suspect that in the charming picture of matrimonial bliss the old poet draws when he describes the married life of Havelok and Goldborough, he has in his mind the famous contemporary example of a happy marriage. He is reflecting the devoted mutual attachment of his king and queen . . . [Eleanor, † 1290].»



## Glossary.

*alper* adj. gen. pl. of *all* [O. E. *alra*].

\**a-mide-warde* prep. amidst. 872.  
*ande-long* adv. lengthwise. 2822.

\**broys* s. broth. 924 [Cp. New Engl. Dict. sub *brewis* and *browis*].

\**cavenard* s. coward. 2389 [O. Fr. *caignard*].

\**corūning* s. coronation. 2948.

*crike* s. 1. creek. 2. arse-hole. 2450.

*dēd* 1. adj. dead. 2. s. death.

\**dēde-bōndes* s. pl. bonds of death. 332.

*deilen* v. to divide, share. 1736.

*fāder-lēs* adj. fatherless. 75.

*fāme* s. calumny, slander. 1941.

*fērd* s. army.

*filen* v. to follow, pursue. 67.

*for-þi* adv. therefore; *f. þat* con. because.

*forþ-ward* adv. forthwith. 731.

*fourte-niht* s. pl. fortnight. 2284.

*frest* s. respite; *dōn on f.* delay, put off. 1337.

*gavelen* v. to make into sheaves, pile up, heap. 814.

*gēnt* adj. pretty, fine. 2139.

*glotūn* s. glutton. 2104.

\**hand-bāre* adj. bare of money. 766.

*harping* s. playing the harp. 2325.

*hei-man* s. nobleman, man of rank. 1260.

*hiht* s. haste. 1338.

*hórñ* s. French roll. 779.

\**howen* v. to gaze at(?). 1292.

*hul* s. hole. 2687.

*hwil-gāt* adv. in what way, how. 836.

*k-* see *c-*.

*la(u)mprei* s. lamprey. 771.1727.

\**luwe-drūrīe* s. courtship, gal-lantry. 195.

\**mīne* s. a game at dice, a species of tables, or back-gammon. 2326. [O. Fr. *mine*].

\**mixed* p. p. dirty, vile, base. 2533.

*mōne* s. opinion. 816.

\**mōne-liht* s. moonlight. 534.

*newhen* v. to approach, come near. 1866.

*of-slōn* v. to cut off. 2676.

*ōver-fāren* v. to pass over. 2063.

*ōver-gōn* v. to be disregarded. 2220.

*patein* s. paten. 187.

*platten* v. to tramp. 2282.

*pletten* v. 1. to strike. 2626.  
2. to hurry. 2613.

*putting* s. pushing. 1042. 1057.  
2324.

*qual* s. whale. 753.

*rāp(en)* see *rōp(en)*.

*rēding* s. reading. 2327.

*rōp* s. counsel, advice 75. 2542.

*rōpen* v. to advise, direct. 1335.  
2817.

*saisen* v. to invest, infeoff. 2518.

*sarter* s. psalter. 244.

*sch-* see *sh-*.

\**seġġe* s. cuttle-fish. 899. [Fr.  
*sèche*].

*sembling* s. assembling. 1018.

*serven* v. to deserve. 1914.

*shopen* v. to see, look at. 1853.  
2056. 2784.

*shuldre-blād* s. shoulder-blade.  
2644.

*smerte* adv. sharply. 215.

*sō as* con. though. 337.

*sot-shipe* s. folly. 2099.

\**stal-worþi* adj. stalworth. 24.  
2027.

*strīe* s. hag. 998.

*t'arst* adv. at first. 2688. [O. E.  
*æt ærest*].

*tēl* s. reproach. 191. 2219.

*tīþande* s. tiding, message.  
2279.

\**to-deilen* v. to participate.  
2099.

*trōn* v. to trust, believe. 2338.  
2862.

\**tumberel* s. porpoise. 757.

*þāven* v. to bear, sustain, en-  
dure. 2696.

*þēr-t-ēkene* adv. in addition.  
2878. [O. E. *tō ēacan*].

\**þoruk-like* adv. thoroughly. 680.

\**þus-gāte* adv. in this way. 785.  
2419. 2586.

*umbe-stūnde* adv. sometimes.  
2297.

\**under-fīnden* v. to find out.  
115.

*unker* pron. gen. du. of you  
two. 1882.

*un-wraste* adj. worthless, rotten.  
547.

*werwen, wirwen* v. to choke,  
throttle. 1915. 1921.

## List of Proper and Geographical Names.

*Adam* m. 2287.

*Athelwōld* m. 106. 1077. 2709.  
2803.

*Austin* m. 1773.

*Bernard Brūn* m. 1751. 1756.  
1771. 1774. 1894. 1945. 1947.  
1951. 2008. 2015.

*Bertram* m. 2898.

*Birkabein* m. 342. 408. 494.  
2150. 2157. 2174. 2209. 2296.

*Cestre* Chester. 2607. 2859. 2896.

*Cornwaile* Cornwall. 178. 884.  
2532. 2908.

*Crīst* m. 16. 17. 22. 62. 104. 117.  
153. 177. 433. 436. 1112. 1358.  
2105. 2403. 2563. 2797. (Cp.  
*Jēsus Crīst*).

*Dauȝ* m. David. 2867.

*Denemark* 340. 381. 386. 396.  
485. 492. 516. 607. 610. 666.  
1270. 1272. 1286. 1292. 1296.  
1299. 1307. 1320. 1325. 1330.  
1336. 1340. 1404. 1407. 1426.  
1431. 1439. 1708. 1711. 1720.  
2155. 2178. 2236. 2285. 2869.  
2955. 2960.

*Dou(e)re* Dover. 139. 265. 320.

*Elflæd* f. 411.

*Eng(e)lond* 52. 59. 61. 63. 108.  
129. 173. 202. 208. 223. 250.  
264. 277. 278. 290. 294. 299.  
309. 610. 725. 989. 999. 1004.  
1065. 1074. 1093. 1099. 1270.  
1272. 1306. 1309. 1319. 2237.  
2536. 2537. 2539. 2714. 2769.  
2800. 2964.

*Ene* f. 2045. 2287.

*Godard* m. 375. 383. 398. 422.  
452. 453. 465. 544. 611. 626.  
665. 679. 1382. 2213. 2368.  
2376. 2388. 2404. 2415. 2417.  
2433.

*Godrich* m. 178. 286. 291. 1000.  
1069. 1073. 1117. 1147. 1188.  
2531. 2652. 2654. 2672. 2678.  
2680. 2688. 2704. 2715. 2723.  
2735. 2736. 2749. 2810. 2910.  
*Góldeboru* f. 284. 328. 1088.  
1103. 1129. 1247. 1265. 1311.  
1718. 2065. 2768. 2842. 2966.  
2985.

*G[r]iffin Galle* m. 2029.

*Grim* m. 527. 537. 545. 576.  
597. 606. 615. 658. 664. 691.  
699. 733. 736. 743. 744. 749.  
785. 788. 792. 794. 826. 1196.  
1203. 1224. 1343. 1368. 1392.  
1399. 1416. 1421. 2234. 2521.  
2528. 2529. 2530. 2867. 2914.

*Grimesbī* Grimsby. 745. 1202.

2540. 2579. 2617. 2619. 2866.

*Gunnild* f. 2866. 2896.

*Guntēr* m. 2606.

*Hauelok* m. 5. 7. 23. 410. 476.  
503. 540. 544. 570. 632. 650.  
715. 727. 788. 828. 835. 838.  
839. 859. 871. 886. 927. 930.  
982. 986. 1041. 1061. 1070.  
1084. 1087. 1091. 1097. 1133.  
1136. 1153. 1190. 1212. 1266.  
1279. 1353. 1394. 1395. 1636.  
1645. 1659. 1668. 1682. 1699.  
1710. 1717. 1753. 1760. 1793.  
1803. 1806. 1826. 1827. 1875.  
1901. 1927. 1963. 1968. 2052.

2094. 2111. 2121. 2130. 2188.  
2214. 2423. 2452. 2520. 2534.  
2620. 2700. 2729. 2731. 2745.  
2808. 2850. 2897. 2937. 2963.  
2985.

*Humber* 733.

*Hūwe Rāuen* m. 1398. 1868.  
1878. 2349. 2636. 2677.

*Jēsus Crīst* m. 230. 331. 403.  
542. 595. 1101. 1314. 1384.  
1387. 2523. 3000. (Cp. *Crīst*.)

*Johan* m. 177. 1112. 1721. 2563.  
2957.

*Judas* m. 319. 425. 482. 1133.

*Kaym* m. Cain. 2045.

*Krīst* see *Crīst*.

*Lāzarus* m. 331.

*Lēue* f. 558. 565. 576. 595. 618.  
642.

*Leuue* f. 2914.

*Lincolne* 773. 847. 862. 980.  
1105. 2558. 2572. 2824.

*Lindeseye* Lindsey. (N. Eastern  
Part of Lincolnshire) 734.

*Lundone* London. 2943.

*Reynēr* m. 2607.

*Roberd*, -t m. 1397. 1686. 1691.  
1881. 1888. 2346. 2384. 2405.  
2407. 2411. 2628.

*Rōkesborw* Roxburgh. 139. 265.

*Sāthanas* m. 1100. 1134. 2512.

*Swanborow* f. 411.

*Ubbe* m. 1634. 1642. 1650. 1676.  
1683. 1695. 1696. 1703. 1715.  
1741. 1926. 1930. 1951. 2008.  
2037. 2052. 2062. 2093. 2096.  
2168. 2192. 2275. 2288. 2292.  
2304. 2314. 2464. 2517. 2650.  
2673. 2958.

*William Wendut* m. 1398. 1690.  
1881. 1892. 2348. 2632.

*Winchestre* 158. 318.

*Yerk* York. 1178.

*Ynde* India. 1085.

## Emendations and Corrections.

«Dies diem docet.»

Line 2 read *maydnes*. — 3 cancel *pat*. — 17 r. *heuere* and c. *for*. — 22 r. *yēue* (cp. O. Angl. *gefan*). — 25 r. *beste* instead of *stalworþeste*. — 30 and 35 r. *louede*. — 46 r. *rēd[e]*. — 52 r. *Englōnd*. — 58 r. *māked*. — 75 r. *fāder*-. — 92 r. *knowe*. — 99 r. *Ne*. — 127 c. *And*. — 136 r. *sēnde*. — 148 r. *iuel*. — 152 r. *hēnd?* — 155 r. *yuel*. — 161 r. *areṇ*. — 206 r. *ér[e]* *hire*. — 213 r. *sīþe*. — 220 r. *gōuen*. — 224 r. *yōuen*. — 239 r. *bōure*, *knic[h]tes*. — 243 r. *Monkes*. — 246 r. *heuene*. — 249 r. *riče* *ér* *ne*. — 253 r. *knic[h]tes* *hē mic[h]te*. — 257 r. *deyen*. — 260 r. *hauēde* *tāken þe oth*. — 272 r. *nōn [ne]* *durstē* etc. or *nōn him durste bēn ageyn*. — 292 r. *Hweþer shē sholde*. — 298 r. *yēue*. — 304 r. *yōuen*. — 306 r. *als[ō]?* — 311 r. *eue* *mī blāke*. — 336 r. *hauēd*. — 357 r. *siluer*. — 371 r. *Knich[tes]*. — 397 r. *casteles*. — 428 r. *patriark[e]*. — 459 r. *yēueþ*. — 524 r. *fishere*. — 598 r. *a[l]s[ō]*. — 631 r. *ī [mī]?* — 694 r. *him liue*. — 698 r. *children*. — 762 r. *sones*. — 769 r. *pōke bēnes*. — 854 c. *þe* (Mb.) — 901 r. *hauēde*. — 909 r. *Hauēloc* instead of *hē*. — 926 r. *þe [shal]*. — 939 r. *turues* (Mb.) — Between 949 and 950 two lines seem to be wanting. — 959 r. *þe wórd ful wīde*. — 976 r. *þe* instead of *In?* — 1041 r. *lōkeðe til*. — 1054 insert *ī wōt* before *and*. — 1056 r. *[f]flowen*. — 1066 c. *[ful]* (Mb.) — 1106 r. *Belles*. — 1112 r. *and [ēk]*. — 1125 r. *[shal]* *ōþer*. — 1146 r. *Areṇ þe kōkes*. — 1162 r. *in fīr[e]*. — 1167 r. *mākeþ groweṇ*. — 1182 r. *[Wēreṇ] þat þe folc ful wēl it*. — 1210 r. *wēreṇ*. — 1217 r. *þe lyue*. — 1230 r. *sholeṇ*. — 1262 r. *gōld[e]*. — 1287 l. *But*. — 1294 r. *wēreṇ*. — 1321 r. *āreṇ*. — 1346 r. *shuleṇ*. — 1347 r. *loueṇ*. — 1357 r. *And bifōr þe rōde gan falle*. — 1373 c. *tō* and r. *mēte*. — 1401 r. *wīle*. — 1423 c. *tō*. — 1430 r. *fē*. — 1639 r. *Frō* instead of *For*. — 1640 r. *sholeṇ* or c. *ful*. — 1642 r. *hāuēde*. — 1694 r. *wēreṇ*. — 1737 r. *sīþe hauēden*. — 1777, 1782, 1788, 1792, 1796, 1806, 1960, 1968 r. *dore*. — 1787 r. *Wenestu... dradde*. — 1838 r. *shotēṇ*. — 1864 r. *glēbes schoten*. — 1865 r. *yerne* (Mb.). — 2003 c. *of* and r. *grēued þus* instead of *þus greþed?* — 2019 r. *þe[i]* instead of *hē*. — 2032 r. *[þat]* *hauēth*. — 2053 r. *hāuēde* and c. *ful*. — 2106 r. *tōteðe*. — 2169 r. *þouht*. — 2191 r. *mirknesse* instead of *þisternesse?* — 2227 r. *Hē*. — 2290 r. *þe king hauēden*. — 2312 r. *manrēde hauēde and*. — 2324 r. *laddes*. — 2329 r. *glewmen*. — 2330 r. *boles*. — 2365 r. *casteles*. — 2385 r. *girt was*. — 2391 r. *king[e]* and c. *ful*. — 2438 r. *bole*. — 2439 r. *hole*. — 2444 r. *þat þe[i]* *sholde his hēnd of plette[n]*. — 2569 r. *spore*. — 2579 r. *Lōkeþ*. — 2594 r. *Nimeþ*. — 2670 r. *[stinte]*. — 2683 r. *fērdes*. — 2687

r. *þe hul.* — 2914 r. *Leuūe þe hēnde* (Mb.). — 2936 r. *mayðen[e]s.*  
Perhaps we should read

*Hwan þe mayðen[e]s wēre bāþe*

*Spūsed, Hauēloc bigan ful rāthe.*

2966 r. as instead of *þat.* — 2979 and seq. r. *sones* (Mb.).

## Addenda.

Line 5 read *þe tāle of Hauēlok is i-māked.* — 19 r. *mōte* (Mb.).  
— 23 r. *māked of Hauēlok* (Mb.). — 52 r. *herē* (Mb.). — 185 r.  
*bringen* (Mb.). — 1181 seq. r. *Hwan þe[i] wēren in Godes lawe*  
*Tōgydere, þat þe folc it sawe* (Mb.). — 2191 c. *þe* (Mb.). — 2290  
r. *þe king þe[i] hauēden gret* (Mb.) — 2331 r. *bōres* (Mb.).

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H. P.

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# Geschichte der neuern Philosophie

von **Runo Fischer.**

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In der „Deutschen Revue“ schreibt Th. Wiedemann in seinen „Sechzehn Jahre in der Werkstatt Leopold von Ranke“: „Ranke suchte nach anderweitiger und anders gearbeiteter Belehrung. In Beziehung auf die Geschichte der neuern Philosophie zog er allen anderen bei weitem das Werk von Runo Fischer vor, dem er Geistesreichtum und kongeniale Reproduktion der verschiedenen Systeme nachrühmte.“

... „Fischers Eigentümlichkeit besteht in einer sonst fast nirgends erreichten Kunst, eine fremde Gedankenwelt von ihrem eigenen Mittelpunkt aus zu erleben und den Leser in der denkbar durchsichtigsten und eindringlichsten Form erleben zu lassen... Runo Fischer steht nie als überlegener, verbessernder Schulmeister hinter den dargestellten Philosophen. Dieser Geschichtsschreiber läßt nicht seine Philosophen reden, sondern sie reden selbst. Sie tragen ihre eigenen Gedanken vor, nur freier, natürlicher, in einer lebhafteren, durchsichtigeren Sprache, als wir sie in ihren eigenen Werken finden. Aber diese Gedanken sind dennoch niemals verändert, niemals verschönt und niemals verbildet. Sie sind das in der Form gereinigte, im Gehalte völlig getreue Nachbild des Originaldenkers. Diese Kunst der Darstellung ist ebenso neu als notwendig... Wahrlich, wer die Entwicklung des theoretischen Geistes von Descartes' bis zu Kants großen Nachfolgern zum Objekt zu machen im Stande war, der hat ein schöpferisches Werk vollbracht...“ (Preuß. Jahrbücher.)



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

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